

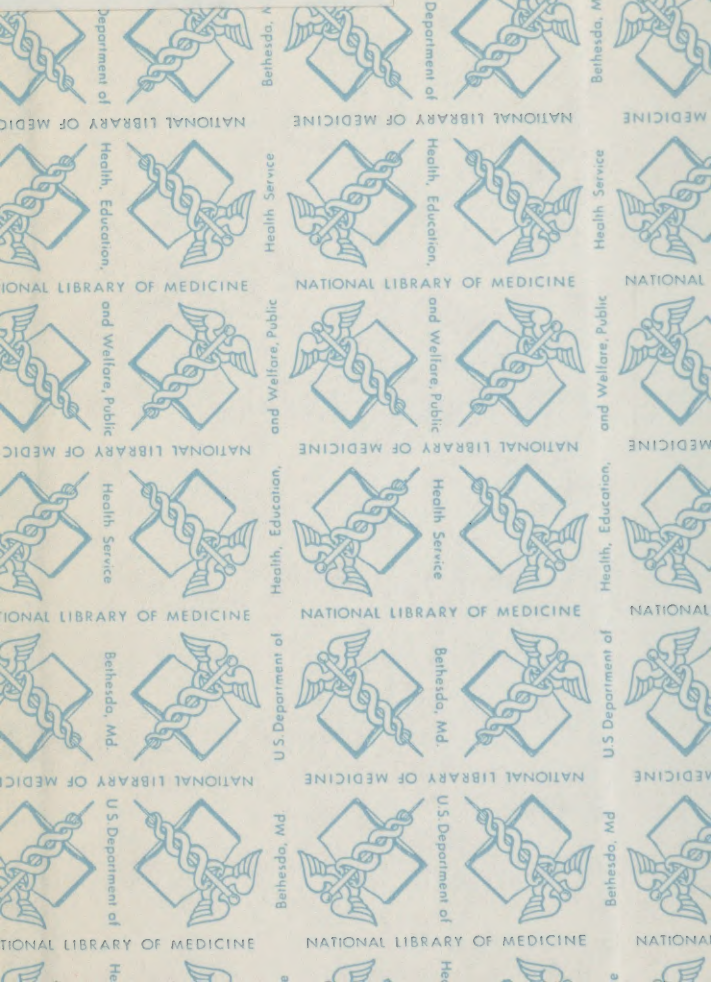
HV 5082 C436f 1920

03040260R



NLM 05021183 0

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE





Father Penn and John Barleycorn

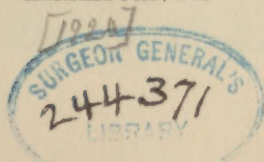
By

HARRY MALCOLM CHALFANT

Editor American Issue—Penn'a Edition



THE EVANGELICAL PRESS
HARRISBURG, PA.



Anney

HV

5082

C436f

1920

Copyright 1920 by
HARRY M. CHALFANT. ✓

NOV 27 1920

© Cl. A601889

no ✓



Drawn by H. J. Sinclair.

TO MY WIFE.

PREFACE.

Thousands of volumes have been written telling the story of the rise and fall of the slave trade in America. The man who would write on that subject finds every conceivable pathway well trodden before he comes to it. It is not so with the history of the rise and fall of the liquor trade. Much has been written of a scientific, political and economic character. But from an historical standpoint this volume is essentially pioneer work.

It has been the writer's aim to adhere strictly to the spirit of the historian, avoiding every appearance of preachment, lecture and scientific treatise. He has undertaken his task with the belief that the day will come when students will search as eagerly for the facts concerning the rise and suppression of the liquor traffic as the historian of today searches for the facts concerning the rise and suppression of human slavery. In every paragraph of this book effort has been made to furnish an answer to those who in the coming years shall aim to discover why strong drink was outlawed in this day and generation.

The accomplishment of prohibition has not been the work of a year, nor a decade, nor even a generation. It has not been the work of any one group of persons nor of any one agency. Self-sacrificing men and women laid the foundations for victory at a time beyond the memory of any living man. The soldiers who died defending Paris in the Autumn of 1914 were just as essential to the final triumph over Germany as those who held the firing line on Armistice Day four years later. In this volume the object has been to give just recognition to those earnest patriots who saw the triumph from afar and by their works and faith helped to bring it a little nearer.

The author is under obligation to numerous friends for helpful suggestions, especially to Rev. Michael J. Fanning. Grateful acknowledgement of the courtesies extended by the librarians of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is, also, made.

The outstanding temperance organizations whose work in recent years made prohibition possible have been the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. There has been included, therefore, in the Addenda a Who's Who of the principal workers of these organizations. It is of necessity incom-

plete, but is published with the thought that it may prove helpful to future writers seeking light on the workers of this generation. Certain statistics which may not be of interest to the average reader are given also in the Addenda.

H. M. C.

Philadelphia, July 1, 1920.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. A Flying Start	13
II. The Original Pennsylvania Prohibition- ist	24
III. Colonial Legislation	36
IV. The Whiskey Insurrection	45
V. A Trio of Pioneers	52
VI. Beginnings of Organized Effort	62
VII. Taking a Plebiscite	76
VIII. A County Option Experiment	82
IX. A Hero of Two Wars	90
X. A New Army in Action	95
XI. Regulation at Its Best.....	102
XII. A Fruitless Campaign	114
XIII. Second War for Local Option	121
XIV. No-License Campaigns	133
XV. Winning National Prohibition	151
XVI. The Moral Suasionists	163
XVII. Attacking from Many Angles	169
XVIII. The Party Method	177
XIX. The White Ribboners	185
XX. The Church in Action	202
XXI. The Press and the Problem	223
XXII. The Strength of the Foe	233
XXIII. Glimpses at the Ledger	246
XXIV. Outlawed	252
Addenda	255

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Moving Out	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Penn's Brewery	16
An Indian Resolution	32
Title Page Benezet's Book	53
Bullet in Bible	Opposite 148

INTRODUCTION.

Prohibition throughout the world depends largely upon its success or failure in America. America has been the sociological laboratory in which the varied schemes of dealing with the traffic have been tried out. The failure of all conceivable plans of regulation have been demonstrated in our country just as has been demonstrated the success of prohibition in limited areas. Its success as a national measure is now being proven in the furnace of experience.

The history of the development of temperance reform, especially in the Thirteen Original States, involving the story of Colonial experiences and customs, the ghastly record of the drink trade in connection with the Indian Tribes, and the efforts to remedy the evils of drink by drastic supervision of its sale, is of vital importance to the whole world, now seeking to be free from the oppression of Drink. No state presents a more significant and illuminating record of achievement and failure than does Pennsylvania, and Mr. Chalfant has placed students of two continents under obligation to him for so thoroughly and accurately recording the

history of that state in her struggles with the alcohol problem.

For three centuries, Pennsylvania tried to abolish the evils of the drink by selling liquor. She only aggravated them. The liquor dealers of that state were the first to break out in open armed rebellion against the authority of the government. They followed this by staining the whole subsequent history of the state with dishonor, with crime, with scandal and corruption. The trade dies hard, just as its twin evil slavery died hard. The Eighteenth Amendment is a victory of the people over a sinister and well organized interest. Slavery, throughout the thousands of years of its existence, was never perpetuated for the benefit of the slave or of the people, but solely for the benefit of the man who carried the lash. Just so, the liquor traffic has never been perpetuated for the benefit of the drunkard or the people, but solely for the benefit of those who profited privately by its sale.

This carefully written history of the story of the drink in the Keystone state is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the reform, not only for its historical value in America, but as an illuminating record of experience for the peoples of other lands who are longing to be free from Drink Oppression, just as America is now free.

WILLIAM E. JOHNSON.

I.

A FLYING START.

Just when John Barleycorn began business on Pennsylvania soil is difficult to determine, but he was on the ground early and had a flying start.

The Swedes were the first comers to this land of hope and freedom, but their sway was of short duration and uneventful. After struggling along for seventeen years, the feeble colony at Upland, on the banks of the Delaware river, was conquered by the Dutch, in September, 1655. That the liquor traffic already had secured a foothold is indicated by the fact that the director appointed by the Dutch was instructed to observe "the published ordinances against the sale of strong drink to the Indians;" also, the ordinances against "running about in the country and drinking on, or profaning, the Sabbath day." Before the close of that year Pennsylvania's first liquor revenue law was promulgated and a schedule of taxes levied.¹ A duty was also laid on imported liquors.

1. Nead: Charter to Wm. Penn, Appendix.

The Dutch retained control of the colony for only nine years and were in turn ousted by the English in 1664. On September 22, 1676, the Duke of York put into operation his "Book of Laws." In dealing with the traffic in strong drink it contained the following paragraphs:²

"That no person whatsoever shall henceforth undertake the Calling or work of Brewing Beere for Sale, but only such as are known to have Sufficient Skill and knowledge in the art or Mistery of a Brewer.

"Every Person licensed to keep an Ordinary (Inn) shall always be provided of strong and wholesome Beer, of four bushels of malt at least to a Hoggshead which he shall not Sell at above two pence the quart under penalty of twenty Shillings, for the First Offence, forty shillings for the Second, and loss of his License.

"No Person whatsoever from henceforth shall Sell, Truck, Barter, give or deliver any Strong Liquors to any Indian, directly or indirectly, whatsoever known by the name of Rum, Strong waters, wine Brandy Spirrits, or any other Strong Liquors under any other name whatsoever; Under the Penalty of forty Shillings for one pint and so proportionately for greater or lesser quantities so Sould, Bartered, given or delivered as aforesaid."

William Penn arrived in 1682 to take charge of the colony. He was one of God's noblemen, one of the great benefactors of the ages. He left a lasting impression for good not only in

2. Nead: Charter to Wm. Penn, Appendix.

the infant colony but on the nation of which it was later to be a vital part. What is said, therefore, concerning his relation to the drink traffic is not to be construed as reflecting in any way upon his lofty character but as throwing light upon the customs and habits of the age in which he lived.

Penn deplored the excessive use of strong liquor, but drank it in moderation, and had no hesitancy in promoting it as a commercial proposition. He thought he saw on the banks of the Delaware river a land that could in course of time be made to rival France in the production of rare wines, and hence he zealously urged the importation and cultivation of grape vines.³ He hoped to see within a brief time the colony flourishing with great and productive vineyards, but his ambitions in this particular direction were never realized.

Not long after his arrival in the colony Penn determined to build for himself, on the banks of the Delaware river, a mansion worthy of one who enjoyed his financial and political standing. In planning for this house, which was afterwards built at Pennsbury, Bucks county, he wrote a letter to James Harrison, in 1684, in

3. Fisher: The True William Penn, Page 278.



PENN'S BREW-HOUSE.

From History Bucks County by Davis.

which he said:⁴ "I would have a kitchen, two larders, a wash house, a room to iron in, a brew house and a Milan oven for baking, and stabling for twelve horses." A picture of his brew house is still extant.

Thus there came into existence the first Pennsylvania brewery of which history accords us any information. How long it stood, what its product was and what consequences resulted therefrom must be left to the imagination of the reader.

History does record, however, the sad fact that William Penn, Jr., the son of the founder became addicted to the use of strong drink and led a life which brought great distress to the elder Penn in his latter days.

Drinking was common among all classes. Rare, indeed, was the man who had the temerity to enter any protest against the habits of his neighbors or his friends. Malt liquor was made in the principal towns in small quantity. It early became an article of export from Philadelphia. Concerning the manufacture and use of beer, Penn said in a tract which he issued in 1685:⁵

4. Davis: History of Bucks County.

5. Pennsylvania Magazine.

“Our Drink has been Beer and Punch made of Rum and Water: Our Beer was mostly made of Molasses, which well boyled, with Sassafras or Pine infused into it, makes very tollerable drink; but now they made Mault and Mault drink begins to become common, especially at the Ordinaries and the Houses of the more substantial People. In our great Town there is an able Man, that has set up a large Brew House, in order to furnish the People with good Drink, both there and up and down the River.”

The importation of rum from the West Indies was a considerable item of commerce. Repeated efforts were made to develop a wine-making industry of commercial proportions, but little ever came of it. From the earliest days of the colony, however, the making of whisky was very general. Most farmers had their own private stills. It was given to farm hands freely, and it was not an unusual thing for them to accept whisky as pay for their labor.

Drinking customs in colonial days received only scant attention in the literature which has come down to us. Nevertheless a paragraph here and a sentence there may be found which throw light on the subject. Among the events which brought the people together in large numbers were public sales, weddings and funerals. Excessive drinking and drunkenness were quite common upon such occasions.

The Yearly Meetings of the Quakers gave

early attention to this situation and entered protest in the form of resolutions.⁶ In 1726 the Yearly Meeting adopted a resolution condemning the giving of liquor at public sales. In 1743 a petition was sent up to the Assembly complaining against the habit of furnishing liquor at public sales, declaring that excessive drinking "frequently produced swearing, quarreling and other scandalous enormities, and, moreover, was often the cause that poor people gave extravagant prices for unnecessary things, whereby families were much oppressed and sometimes ruined."

In 1736 the Yearly Meeting adopted a resolution condemning the giving of drams to children, on the ground that it created an appetite for strong drink. Resolutions were also adopted by the same body against the "too frequent use of liquor."

It seems passing strange to us of this day that the excessive use of liquor at funerals became so common as to make such events seem more like a drunken picnic than an event of sorrow. The body of the dead usually lay in state for several days in order that distant friends and relatives might be notified and have sufficient time to journey to the funeral. It was deemed a matter

6. Searf and Westcott: History of Philadelphia.

of hospitality and courtesy to furnish food and drink in abundance upon such occasions.

The only reason conditions at weddings were less obnoxious than at funerals was because the event did not require the same length of time in bringing it to a conclusion.

There is enlightenment in a letter written by Edward Shippen, one of the first Speakers of the Colonial Assembly. It was a message to his son and is descriptive of the drinking habits of the young men of that day, against which he warned his boy. The warning was evidently effective, for the young man afterward became a Justice of the Supreme Court. In that letter the young men are described as meeting together around a table, eating and drinking until they were intoxicated, thereby causing sorrow and distress in their families.

The liberal use of intoxicants was by no means confined to the male sex. In 1733 a woman was found dead as a result of excessive drinking. The editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, taking this as a topic, wrote as follows:

“It is now become the practice of some otherwise discrete women, instead of a draught of beer and toast or a chunk of bread and cheese, or a wooden noggin of good porridge and bread, as our good old English custom is, or milk and bread boiled, or tea and bread and butter, or milk, coffee, etc., they must have their two

or three drams in the morning by which as I believe, their appetite for wholesome food is taken away, and their minds stupefied, so that they have no longer that prudent care for their families to manage well the business of their station, nor that regard for reputation which good women ought to have. And though they find their husbands' affairs every day going backward, through their negligence and they themselves want necessities; though there be no bread in the house and the children almost barefoot this cold weather, yet, as if drinking rum were part of their religious worship, they never fail their constant daily sacrifice."

Wine was accounted as having a diplomatic value, providing always, of course, that it did not get mixed up with the wrong brain. Upon one occasion Benjamin Franklin, with certain other prominent citizens of Philadelphia, was commissioned to wait upon Governor Clinton of New York, with the hope of borrowing some cannon for the public defence of Pennsylvania. Concerning that visit Franklin says:

"He at first refus'd us peremptorily; but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Maderia wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanc'd to ten; and at length he very good naturedly conceded eighteen."

Who ever heard of rum as an inducement to lure men to attend divine service? And yet the

same writer⁸ tells of a place where it was used for that purpose. In 1755 Franklin was commissioned by the Governor of the Province to raise an army and move to the defence of the settlements in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. The Indians had burned Gnadenhütten, a Moravian village on the present site of Weissport, Carbon county, and had massacred the inhabitants. This was considered a good location for one of the new forts. Consequently Franklin assembled his soldiers at Bethlehem,—there being something over 500 of them,—and marched to the locality where the new fort was to be erected. In his “Autobiography” he describes various events in connection with this work, one paragraph of which reads as follows:

“We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually serv’d out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observ’d they were punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty: ‘It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only just after prayers, you would have them all about you.’ He liked the tho’t, undertook the office, and, with the help

8. Franklin’s Autobiography, Page 264.

of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended; so that I thought this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service."

How much liquor was consumed in those days one cannot conjecture. But that the quantity was sufficiently large to excite comment is shown by a brief item appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 7, 1728, which states that the importation of rum the previous year was 223,500 gallons, while that exported amounted to only 11,400 gallons. Commenting on this the editor said:

"So that by a modest computation there has been consumed in one year at least twenty-five thousand pounds in rum. This excessive drinking of rum, as it has slain its thousands is likely to destroy its ten thousands for by its corrosive and fiery property, it debauches the stomach, dries up the radical moisture, poisons the juices, inflames the blood, unsheaths the bowels, debilitates the nerves and stupefies the brain."

II.

THE ORIGINAL PENNSYLVANIA PROHIBITIONIST.

Pennsylvania's original prohibitionist was the Red Man. He could grow maize, but in his blissful ignorance he had no knowledge of how to get "red eye" out of it. He was, therefore, of necessity a total abstainer. The coming of the pale face resulted in the introduction of rum, and rum meant disaster and death to the aborigines.

There were some Indians in Vermont and others in the Southwest who had knowledge of how to manufacture a crude liquor,¹ but among the tribes of Pennsylvania there was no drink which would produce intoxication. Hence, the early settlers found here a people among whom there was no drunkenness. They found a people free, also, from the vices and loathesome diseases which were prevalent among nations addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages.

It was a sad day for the American Indian when civilization in its westward course found him; for, alas, that civilization was not all good.

1. Johnson: The Federal Government and the Liquor Traffic.

In it were many men who were wicked at heart and victims, not only of drunkenness, but of vile diseases which accompanied that vice. To these men the native was an object to be exploited. They felt at liberty not only to debauch and ruin him but to destroy his race if they might thereby get gain. Rum offered them the opportunity.

Soon after his arrival in the colony William Penn wrote a letter to his friend Henry Savell,² in which he describes the natives as "proper & shapely, very swift, their language lofty. They speak little, but fervently & with Elegency. They believe a Deity & Immortality without ye help of Metaphisicks & some of them admirable sober, though ye Dutch & Sweed and English have by Brandy and Rum almost Debaucht all and when drunk ye most wreched of spectacles."

The degradation following the use of rum by the Indians beggars description. Many of them died from exposure while drunk and murders were very common among them. Whisky became a leading factor in nearly all the massacres. The most vivid description of an Indian carousal, due to liquor, which we have found in the annals of early Pennsylvania history appears in Benjamin Franklin's "Autobiog-

2. Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. I, Page 68.

raphy.”³ In October, 1753, in company with other commissioners he went to Carlisle to conclude a treaty with the Delawares, Shawonese, Twightwees, Owendats, and the Six Nations. The commissioners forbade the sale of any liquor to the natives until the treaty should be concluded, after which the rum was freely given them. What followed that night is described by Franklin as follows:

“In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked out to see what was the matter. We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. Their dark-colored bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfires, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging.”

He then goes on to tell how an Indian orator the next day endeavored to excuse the use of rum by saying that the Great Spirit had designed it for some purpose and evidently it was for the Indian to get drunk with, whereupon Franklin said:

“And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cul-

3. Franklin: Autobiography, Page 216.

tivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea-coast."

The Indian was not insensible to his weakness and his degradation through drink. A Moravian missionary⁴ meeting one of the natives at Pittsburgh in the early days asked him his name. The Indian replied: "My name is Black Fish; when at home with my nation I am a clever fellow and when here a hog." The same authority says that he frequently saw Indians in the various parts of the state resist for days the temptations of traders to make them drink in order that the trader might get some undue advantage of them.

Some of these early Moravian missionaries, for zeal, courage, and common sense, have never been surpassed in the history of Christian enterprise. And they were much beloved and recognized as friends by the Red Man. However, the fruit of their labors was often marred or destroyed by the whisky peddler. A sad illustration of this defeat of their efforts was to be found in the case of Teedyuscung.⁵ He was noted for his physical prowess and his unusual

4. John Heckwelder: Indian Customs.

5. Kulp: Historical Essays.

mental qualities. Some few years after his acceptance of the Christian faith he became a noted chief among the Delawares.

Because of Teedyuscung's great influence with his people, the colonial government courted his friendship and built him five houses on the present site of the city of Wilkes-Barre. They were the first dwellings erected by white people in the Wyoming Valley.

While he lived Teedyuscung was of great service to the settlers, for whom he seems to have had a real affection; but, unfortunately, the white man's whisky had enchained him and he lapsed from his Christian faith. In 1763 he was burned to death in his house while under the influence of drink. This was truly a tragedy not only for the Indian chief himself but for the colony. His downfall and death opened the door for more troubles, and massacres, which he if alive might have prevented, were soon inflicted upon the settlers.

In the first sentence of this chapter the Indian is declared to have been the original Pennsylvania prohibitionist. That was literally true. We can show from records of that day that he was actually the first man to enter protest with the government against the continued sale of whisky. The colonists were making laws to pro-

tect the Indian, but refused to give up their own habit of drink in order to strengthen the movement for the protection of the other fellow. While William Penn was deploring the debauchery of the natives through illicit liquor selling he was arranging to have a private brewery built for himself.

On the other hand the Indian chiefs were not asking that liquor be withheld from the tribe, while they be furnished with a supply for private consumption. For the sake of the common good they abstained from liquor drinking in many cases. To the utmost of their ability they protested to the authorities against its sale in their midst.

One of the first historians of the State,⁶ whose work was written during the Revolution, tells us that as early as 1668 the Indians living along the Delaware river requested "absolute prohibition, upon the whole river of selling strong liquors to the Indians generally." Continuing, this early writer says:

"Their ignorance of the nature and effects of drunkenness, to which at first they were absolute strangers, rendered them less prepared to resist the temptation. Nevertheless, this request of an absolute prohibition of the sale of strong liquor among them shows their sense of the introduction of the temptation, their

6. Robert Proud: History of Pennsylvania.

weakness to resist it, and the best means with them to resist the consequences of it; which request afterward was, from time to time, frequently and earnestly repeated by the different nations in these parts, before they were much corrupted by this and other European vices.”

In May, 1704, the chief of the Conestogoes complained to the government at Philadelphia⁷ about the great quantity of rum that was being sold to his people, saying that they were being ruined by it. They were under threat of war at that time and there was great danger that they would be “Surprised by their enemies when beside themselves with drink and so be utterly destroyed.”

A council was held in Philadelphia in June, 1706, between the colonial authorities⁸ and the chiefs of the Conestagoes, Shawanois and Gana-wonse tribes. These Indians lived in the lower Susquehanna valley. The Minutes of the Provincial Council contain the following paragraph bearing on the subject in hand:

“They further desired that none might be suffered to go up into the country beyond their towns to meet the Indians returning from hunting, for they sustained great damage by that practice, by being made drunk at their return before they get home to their

7. Colonial Records, Vol. II, Page 141.

8. Colonial Records, Vol. II, Page 248.

wives, and so were imposed on and cheated by the traders of the fruits of all their labor.”

In the Colonial Records⁹ there is printed in full a resolution which was signed by 100 Indians at a council held at Allegheny, March 15, 1737. They entered into an agreement that in each of their towns they would smash all casks and pour out the rum in the presence of all the inhabitants of the village. This they solemnly agreed to do for a period of four years. If Carrie Nation, smashing the saloons of Kansas with her little tomahawk, needed any precedent for her conduct, she would have found it in the action of the Pittsburg Indians, the original Pennsylvania prohibitionists.

Four years later the appeal from the Indians in the Allegheny region was emphasized by the Shawonese and the Mingoës complaining about the rum which was being brought into their midst in the Western section of the state.

Shikellamy was one of the famous chiefs of colonial days. His home was at Shamokin. Upon one occasion¹⁰ he sent a deputation of his tribe to confer with Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian agent and interpreter. These representatives told Weiser about English traders of-

9. Colonial Records, Vol. I, Page 549.

10. Colonial Records.

INDIAN RESOLUTION RESPECTING RUM, 1738.

Alleghenia, March 15, 1737-8.

This Day we held a Council, and itt is agreed by the Sheynars in General, that what ever Rum is in our Townes shall be broak and spilt, and nott Drunk, and however shall bring any Rum, or any sort of strong Liquor into our Townes, Indⁿ of or white man, Lett it be more or less, itt shall be all broak and spilt in the Presence of the Whole Townes, where so ever it is Brought, and four men is appointed for Every Town two see that their is no Rum or strong Liquor Brought into our Townes, and to Have it for the Tarme of four Years from Date.

LAYPAREAWAH	OPENASAS SON,	OPETHUMER,	SEN'R,
NEWCHUONER	D'BT. KING,	NOYETTEANGER,	
COYEACOLINNE,	CHIEF COUNCIL,	CAPPETANNE,	
TECOMTUK,		MAUWETHEW,	
WOWEARTHA,		SENER,	
MESGINABIATHE,		WESCOPEPETHER,	
WOWEAHOMER,		RELARCOWAH,	
KUSSHENTHER,		BOCKOMER,	
PARQUARTHER,		OBOYTHEGUA,	
KISSHECOTTELER,		OKESHOT,	
MESHICOPE COPPA,		WETHIOCKOME,	
CUTTERCOWGITER,		MORCOTAWASSE,	
MORCOTTAWA THUMER,		GEORGE MIRANDA,	
QUAJATHIER,		WOCONICKSHANER,	
OPEIMASHAWA,		NESHEWQUARTS,	
MASHARCOWTHETER,		OPENATQUAMENNA,	
WOWECOMER,		PETER CHIRTIER,	
SHEUWE COPPA,		NESHEW COPPA,	
VENGAEOWAH,		LAYWESHEMN,	
CAPANETHER,		MUSSUSKETHUR,	
PENQUAR,		COWESKETHUR,	

fering them rum, which they had refused, and to whom they protested by saying: "Brethren, we have drunk too much of your rum already which has occasioned our destruction. We will, therefore, for the future beware of it."

At the treaty of Carlisle, referred to previously, the spokesman for the Indians was chief Scarroyada of the Oneidas. In the course of his remarks on the third day he discussed the prohibition question. His speech was translated by Weiser and made a part of the records of that event. Among other things he said:¹¹

"When these Whisky traders come they bring thirty or forty Caggs and put them down before us and make us drink and get all the skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted for goods bought of the fair traders, and by this means we not only ruin ourselves but them too. These wicked whisky sellers when they have once got the Indians in liquor make them sell their very clothes from their backs. In short if this practice be continued we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly beseech you, therefore, to remedy it."

In April, 1756, the colonists were having serious trouble with the Indians and this famous chieftain came to Philadelphia to confer with the Governor in an effort to maintain peace. After reading the above appeal there is a note of

11. Colonial Records, Vol. V, Page 676.

sadness in a brief paragraph in the Colonial Records which says:

“Mr. Weiser came and informed the Governor that Scarroyady had been in Liquor two Days and was incapable of being conferred with.”

The early settlers of the commonwealth were for the most part those who came in search of religious and civil liberty but coming with them were numerous adventurers who had little regard for the sanctity of human life, to say nothing of morals and decency. Liquor in its relation to the Indians gave deepest concern to those who were truly interested in the welfare of the colony, and very early it was made a matter of legislation. This will be treated more fully in the next chapter. But the laws proved ineffectual in restraining the cut-throats and outlaws who flocked to the new world in that early day.

So, in the course of the years, those of the natives who had been able to survive the ravages of the white man's rum, and the disease and brutality which it engendered, moved on toward the setting sun. The story is a sad, but an old one. The nations inhabiting the mountains and valleys of this commonwealth prior to the coming of the white man, only followed the foot-

steps of other nations that had already passed into oblivion by the alcohol route. They deserved a better fate. With all their wonderful possibilities what a contribution their children might have made to the history of Pennsylvania had they received the treatment they so well deserved!

Speaking of their virtues, one of the ablest modern writers¹² on Indian character and tradition has recently said:

“The American Indian as he was when we found him living on the shores of the Delaware, or on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, was, without question, the noblest type of primitive man that ever trod the earth. He alone of all primitive races of men never was an idol worshipper. When our ancestors were bowing down to ‘stocks and stones,’ his ancestors were worshipping the Great Spirit, the Invisible Creator of all things. His native virtues, his brain power, his physical perfection, were all far above that of any other primitive race.”

12. George P. Donehoo.

III.

COLONIAL LEGISLATION.

Soon after Penn's arrival he began the work of establishing a lawmaking body for the colony. On November 18, 1682, this order was issued to the sheriffs:

“To summon all freeholders to meet and elect out of themselves seven persons of most note for wisdom, sobriety, and integrity to serve as their deputies and representatives in General Assembly to be held at Upland, Pennsylvania, December 6th next.”

This was the beginning of what we now know as the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Not long afterward another election was held to select a Provincial Council, which later became the state Senate.

One of the very first problems confronting the lawmakers was the drink traffic, and every legislature to this day has had to meet and deal with that problem in one or more of its myriad phases. Laws designed to prevent drunkenness, sale of rum to Indians, and adulteration of liquor were early enacted. The legislature, also, fixed the price at which retailers could dispose of their stock.

Among the earliest laws of the state was the one establishing the license system.¹ At first the authority to grant license was vested in the Governor of the Province. By 1690, however, the question began to involve the county courts. On sufficient evidence they could nullify the action of the Governor. Within a few years the granting of license was based on court recommendation. In 1710 the annual fee for the retailers was fixed at three pounds in Philadelphia and at thirty-one shillings elsewhere. In addition the applicant paid the Governor's secretary six shillings as a fee for clerical service.

The bitter contest which was waged against the use of grain in the manufacture of liquor during the World War, brings to mind a bit of legislation in colonial Pennsylvania. It was passed in 1722 and was entitled: "An act for encouraging the making of good beer and for the consumption of grain." It prohibited the use of molasses and similar material in brewing. The preamble reads: "It doth hinder the consumption of malt and so the raising of barley is thereby discouraged."

The facts were these: The brewers discovered some process by which they could make beer much more cheaply from molasses and other

1. Statutes-at-Large.

materials than from barley. As this decreased the demand for barley, the farmer stirred up trouble. The farmer had more influence with the legislature than did the brewer. The result was the aforesaid law.

But the brewer then had about as much respect for the law as he was shown recently by the United States courts in Pittsburgh² to have in these modern times. Consequently a law was passed in 1723 requiring every brewer in the colony to appear in court and openly make oath that he would cut out the molasses, throw in the barley and otherwise obey the law. The reason for this is made clear in the preamble, which refers back to the law of 1722 and which says: "Forasmuch as the good design and intent of said act is frustrated and eluded by the brewer, or his servant, secretly and clandestinely, be it enacted, etc."

The use of whisky to win elections is not a method of recent invention. The legislature found it necessary to take cognizance of this treasonable practice as early as 1752. In the making of laws during the colonial period there was a preamble or introductory declaration, which was supposed to make plain the purpose of the law, and justify its existence. In many

2. See Chapter XXII.

cases the preamble is most illuminating and of incalculable value to the historian. Such is the case with the one to this "corrupt practices" act of 1752: "Whereas such persons as stand candidates for being elected and returned for the office of sheriff and coroner within this province make it too frequently their practice to engage persons to vote for them by giving them strong drink, and use other means inconsistent with the design of voting freely at elections."

Nor is the idea of a dry zone around industrial plants new. By 1726 a considerable number of iron furnaces had been established in the province and they were in a flourishing condition, there being great demand for their product. So detrimental was liquor to their successful operation that the legislature that year put on the books a law forbidding a saloon within two miles of any furnace, unless expressly permitted by a majority of the owners. The reasonableness of the law is fully explained by the preamble, and again we quote: "Whereas the selling of rum and other strong liquors near the furnaces lately erected to running and melting of iron ore have already proved very prejudicial and injurious to the undertakers."

The Germans came to Pennsylvania in great numbers prior to the Revolution and their de-

scendants constitute a very numerous and creditable section of the state's present population. They were heartily welcomed and nothing that would discourage their coming was tolerated by the legislature. This fact explains the reason for a law passed in 1765, which prohibited the master of a vessel, carrying German immigrants bound for Pennsylvania, from charging more than fifty per cent. profit on liquors sold to them.

Reference has been made already to the laws of the Swedes, the Dutch and the Duke of York. Little attention was paid to these, however, and the drink habit had already fastened itself upon the natives when the founder, who was to give his name to the state, set his foot on American soil.

One of the brightest spots in Pennsylvania history was Penn's friendship for and kindness to the natives. Among the first laws recommended by him and enacted by the Colonial Legislature were those which aimed to put the Indian under absolute prohibition.

The preamble to the law of 1701, referring to the gift or sale of liquor to Indians, says: "These evil practices plainly tend to the great dishonor of God, scandal of the Christian religion, and hindrance to the embracing thereof,

as well as drawing the judgment of God upon the country.”

The difficulty of securing satisfactory proof against illegal vending of liquor was as great then as it has been in more modern times. In the law of 1701, the legislature referred to the fact that the bootleggers of that day “privately deal with the Indians and very often back in the woods.” A fine of ten pounds was imposed for each violation. Ordinarily it required two witnesses to convict one who was guilty of a crime, but for this particular crime the legislature provided that a suspect could be convicted on the “evidence of one professed Christian.” However lofty the purposes of the Colonial Legislature may have been, the fact remains that the law forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians was well nigh a dead letter.

It is agreed by historians that there has never been a darker period in the annals of the American Republic than the winter of 1777-'78. The destiny of the colony hung in the balance. The English were in complete possession of Philadelphia. The patriot army, under Washington, was encamped at Valley Forge, twenty miles north of the city, on the banks of the Schuylkill river. While the English were feasting, the Americans were starving. The army of the col-

onies numbered scarcely more than 10,000 men, and yet on its fidelity depended the freedom of the new world. Its sufferings were intense, and before the end of the winter nearly one-half the soldiers were disqualified for service as a result of hardship. Without shoes, with scarcely any clothing, and with only rude huts for shelter, Washington's task in holding the men together would seem to have been too great for human accomplishment. In addition to all this, the men suffered from lack of food.

The farmers of eastern Pennsylvania had in their bins sufficient grain to have kept the army in comfort and could have furnished sufficient meat to supply its needs in that line; but in spite of these facts the army starved. Congress and the state legislature failed to make adequate laws which would compel the farmers to yield up their grain to feed the army. A large part of that grain, so much needed to win the war, was being turned into whisky.

Those who were fighting and sacrificing in the cause of liberty knew that to experience another such winter as Valley Forge, all for which they had been contending would be lost. As a result the Pennsylvania Legislature on November 27, 1778, took steps to prevent a repetition of the Valley Forge tragedy. It enacted a law effec-

tive December 10, 1778, to September 1, 1779, prohibiting the use of any wheat, rye, barley, malt, or other grain, or any meal or flour in the making of whisky or other spirits.

The preamble to this law which is highly significant throws a flood of light upon conditions then prevailing. It reads as follows:

“Whereas, the enormous quantity of grain which is distilled throughout this state tends to increase the price thereby, to the great oppression of the poor and occasions difficulty in procuring the necessary supplies for the armies of the United States, be it enacted, etc.”

The law was clearly intended to help win the war by providing more and better food for the army in the field and the people in the home, but the distillers manifested no spirit of patriotism and sacrifice and, as a result, the law was flagrantly violated. This led the legislature, in March, 1779, to pass a supplemental act authorizing constables to enter distilleries forcibly when suspicion of law-violation existed, and ascertain the facts.

As might be expected, this law for the conservation of grain met with great opposition, with the result that the legislature, in October, 1779, passed a modified law to meet the conditions for the ensuing winter. This law of Oc-

tober, 1779, prevented the use of any grains except rye and barley in the distillation of liquor. It also limited the quantity that could be used. No householder was allowed to use more than eight bushels of grain per year in making liquor for himself, and taverns were limited to the use of fifteen bushels per year. The preamble to this law refers to the great number of saloons then existing in the state, causing great consumption of grain and injury to the people, and "occasions difficulty in procuring the necessary supplies for the army and fleet of the United States and the fleet and the trading vessels of our faithful allies."

Even this modified law for the conservation of grain met with opposition and was repealed early in the Spring of 1780.

IV.

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION.

The participation of America in the World War, in 1917-18, was not the first time in the history of the country when the troubles of the distiller, in part at least, resulted from shortage of transportation facilities. Had it been possible to have shipped grain from southwestern Pennsylvania to the sea coast in 1791 the "Whisky Insurrection" would probably never have occurred.¹

When the schoolboy, in studying American history, finds the paragraph dealing with this trouble, he is told that the refusal of the distillers to submit to government taxation was the cause of it. He is not told that the distilling business of southwestern Pennsylvania became as extensive as it did largely because the farmers had no market for their grain and no means of getting it to the sea coast. In some neighborhoods every fifth or sixth farmer was a distiller.

The southwestern section of the state was set-

1. Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. IV.

tled largely by the Scotch-Irish. They were both religious and thrifty; but their religious scruples did not, at that time, interfere with their attainments in the manufacture of tangle-foot. These hardy pioneers found in the Monongahela valley a fertile soil, and as soon as the ground was cleared it yielded an abundance of wheat and corn.

But there was no market for their products. There was no means of transportation aside from the pack mule and the cumbersome wagon. The wilderness contained trails, but no developed roads. The nearest available port was three hundred miles away. The transportation of their grain was out of the question, and so they distilled it into whisky.

Besides having current expenses to meet, the government was obliged to take over the old debts of all the states which entered into the Union, and was on the lookout for something which would yield a revenue. It decided to levy an excise on articles of luxury, and about the first thing to catch its eye was whisky.

The rate under the law passed by the Congress of 1791 on recommendation of Alexander Hamilton, was seven cents per gallon. The price of whisky in the East was one dollar per gallon, but only half that amount beyond the Al-

leggheny mountains. The farmers and distillers of the West regarded the rate as unequal and, consequently, unfair. Hence the rebellion.

The men who led this insurrection were not border ruffians nor ordinary bootleggers; they were men of affairs, the substantial citizenry of their day. They built churches and worshipped in them. They believed in liberty and were not willing to bear the yoke of any oppressor. They did not always resort to the most genteel methods of combat.

Congressmen Smilie, of Fayette county, and Findley, of Westmoreland county, vigorously contended against the passage of the law, and, having returned home, they openly disapproved it. Albert Gallatin, whose home was on the Monongahela in Fayette county, was then a young man of thirty, but already well known and standing high in the counsels of the government. Two years later he was elected to the United States Senate. He became Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and continued in that office for thirteen years. Gallatin used his utmost influence with the government to prevent the enactment of this revenue law.

The first public meeting called to voice opposition to it was held at Redstone Old Fort (now Brownsville) July 27, 1791. Committees were

appointed for Fayette, Allegheny, Westmoreland and Washington counties with instructions to organize for defense. The Washington county committee adopted resolutions which they published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and which were decidedly rebellious in character. They proclaimed that any official sent by the government to collect the revenue "should be considered inimical to the interests of the county" and should be treated "with contempt."

In September following, a collector named Robert Johnson was mobbed on Pigeon Creek in Washington county. He was tarred and feathered, his head shaved and his horse taken from him. When officers were sent to arrest the offenders they were given similar treatment. This was but one of the numerous incidents which occurred from time to time for a period of nearly three years. Those who opposed the law began to designate themselves as "Tom the Tinker," and so it came to pass that everybody throughout the region who did not want his house burned or to be treated to tar and feathers was glad to refer to himself as a "Tom the Tinker." Finally, in one of the clashes, a Major MacFarlane was killed. This increased the excitement and a meeting was called at Mingo Creek meeting house near Monongahela.

Mails were robbed and letters were found which further stirred up the bitterness of the people toward the government. The trouble becoming still more serious, finally the rioters came together armed and were ready to march on Pittsburgh to burn the town. However, they were misdirected and restrained by their leaders in such a way as to prevent that catastrophe.

President Washington and Governor Mifflin both issued proclamations commanding the insurgents to lay down their arms and disperse. Before these orders were received, however, a meeting composed of 260 delegates was held at Parkinson's Ferry (now Monongahela). Albert Gallatin and Judge Edgar, of Washington county, were among the most prominent men in the convention. They were there, however, to argue for obedience to the government. They succeeded in securing the appointment of a committee of sixty to meet later at Redstone Old Fort. In this latter meeting Gallatin was easily the master and, with the help of Judge Edgar, persuaded the delegates to sign the terms of submission.

The delegates feared to let anyone know how they voted. They were even afraid to write the words "yea" or "nay" on a slip of paper lest they should be detected by their handwriting

and consequently it was decided that the secretary should furnish each delegate with a slip of paper with "yea" on the one end of it and "nay" on the other. This was given to the delegate. He placed in the box that end of the paper which expressed his vote and chewed up the other end. Submission was agreed upon and reported to the commissioners who had been previously sent by President Washington.

Meanwhile the situation had for weeks past looked so serious to the President that he had raised an army of nearly thirteen thousand men and put it in the field under command of Governor Henry Lee of Virginia. It moved toward western Pennsylvania. On October 1, 1794, the President started for a review of the troops, accompanied by General Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. On the tenth of that month they overtook the main body of the army at Carlisle, where they met a committee sent by the insurgents to inform the President that the rebellion was ended. He assured them that the army would do no violence but that under the circumstances it would not be called off. He then proceeded in person as far west as Bedford where he remained some two or three days. General

Lee proceeded as far as Uniontown and took charge of the work of restoring order.

Thus was ended the "Whisky Insurrection." Congress had already modified the excise law, but had not repealed it entirely. To quiet these western Pennsylvania distillers and farmers and bring them into submission had caused the President and the Governor a vast deal of anxiety and had cost the government not less than \$1,500,000—a large sum for that day and an amount that it could ill afford to spend in such a manner.

From that day until the dawn of nation-wide prohibition the Monongahela valley continued to be one of the country's chief centers of the distilling business. Whisky known the world over for generations past was made in the famous old distilleries at Belle Vernon, Brownsville and numerous other localities in the valley. But their day is done. Rapidly they are being dismantled and converted to other uses. Advancing civilization has passed on and left them by the wayside—useless relics of an age that will return no more.

V.

A TRIO OF PIONEERS.

The most effective contribution to the temperance literature of the period just prior to the Revolution was made by Anthony Benezet. He was a native of Picardy, but when two years of age his parents took him to England, where they became imbued with the religious principles of the Society of Friends and the entire family, upon their arrival in America in 1732, united with that branch of the church. Ten years later Anthony became a teacher in the Friends' English school, which position he continued to hold for forty years.

He wrote numerous tracts and essays on philanthropic and religious subjects. He was especially interested in the abolition of the rum traffic and negro slavery, and on these subjects wrote extensively for the press. His most valuable contribution on the drink problem was an elaborate essay entitled "The Mighty Destroyer Displayed." It was published in 1774. It contains quotations from recent English medical authorities, especially Doctors Cheyne and Buchan. After advancing his arguments show-

THE
MIGHTY DESTROYER
DISPLAYED,

IN SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

Dreadful HAVOCK made by the mistaken USE as
well as ABUSE of

DISTILLED SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS.

BY A LOVER OF MANKIND.

ECCLESIASTES VII. 29.

Lo this only have I found, that God hath made man upright ; but they have sought out many inventions.

PHILADELPHIA.

Printed by JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, between Second
and Third Streets, in Market-Street.

M.DCC.LXXIV.

Facsimile title page of Benezet's book.

ing the effects of liquor on health and morality he resorts to the question method in seeking a verdict for the cause he espouses. He asks:

“Is it sound policy to encourage vice in the people because a present revenue arises from their debaucheries? Where will the revenues be when the people who should pay them are destroyed? Are not a hardy, healthy, industrious people always found to be the most able to contribute amply to the support of government? And will not temperance in the end be found a more effectual means to increase the real wealth and strength of a nation, than to make drunkenness the cheapest of vices?”

The drinking of whisky in the harvest fields was well nigh universal. Benezet cites the case of the farmer who “offered six pence per day more than other farmers to such laborers as were willing to assist in bringing in his harvest, on condition that no spirituous liquors should be used in his field.” He was able to secure the necessary help and the men whom he employed were satisfied “notwithstanding the singularity of such a proposal.” He declares this to be in plain contradiction of the commonly accepted opinion that laborers cannot work in safety without the use of liquor.

Finally comes his appeal to individuals not only to abstain from the use of liquor but also to refrain from either importing or distilling it.

He points out the responsibility resting upon lawmakers, governors, and others in positions of influence, insisting that they should set the proper example and not allow the "desire of gain" to influence them toward the further destruction of the people.

In 1772 there was republished in Philadelphia an English work entitled "Domestic Medicine, or The Family Physician." Its author was William Buchan and the publisher was John Dunlap. It seems to have been extensively sold. The quotations of Benezet are from that brief chapter of the book entitled "Intemperance." The following quotations are characteristic of Buchan's treatment of the subject:

"All intoxicating liquors may be considered a poison. However disguised, that is their real character and sooner or later they will have their effect.

"Many people injure their health by drinking, who seldom get drunk. The continual habit of soaking, as it is called, though its effects be not so violent, is no less pernicious.

"By a habit of drinking, the greatest genius is often reduced to a mere dunce.

"Though the drunkard should not fall by an acute disease, he seldom escapes those of a chronic nature. These are the common ways in which drunkards make their exit. Diseases of this kind when brought on by hard drinking seldom admit of a cure.

"States and empires feel the influence of intemperance and rise or fall as it prevails."

Benezet was the man to whom Dr. Benjamin Rush referred as "one of the most laborious school masters I ever knew," and also, "few men since the days of the apostles ever lived a more disinterested life." Rush was trained in a Friends' School in Philadelphia. Rev. Michael J. Fanning, after careful study of the writings both of Benezet and Rush, is of the opinion that the celebrated physician received from the Quaker school master his early inspiration to actively participate in anti-liquor agitation.

Benjamin Rush occupies a foremost place among America's pioneer physicians, having been Surgeon-General of the Continental Army. He was, also, a statesman, having been a member of the Provincial Assembly, and as a member of the Continental Congress was chairman of the Committee on Independence. He was a deeply religious man, of Quaker origin, and a communicant of the Presbyterian church. Possessing tremendous energy and burdened with a great variety of patriotic and professional duties, yet he was so impressed with the increase of intemperance and with his obligation to use his knowledge and influence against it that he gave himself and his talents freely in his efforts to stem the tide.

Two years before Benezet published his essay on the "Mighty Destroyer Displayed" Rush published a book of three "Sermons to Gentlemen upon Temperance and Exercise." The second of these was entitled "Use and Abuse of Wine and Strong Drink." He recommended the use of wine by the sick, by the inhabitants of low countries and by the aged and infirm. He advised against its use by children, by those "under five and thirty or forty" and by persons of studious habits.

In 1785 appeared in pamphlet form his celebrated essay entitled "An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body." In 1786 it was republished in an English magazine and also in the *Gazette* (now the *North American*). Many subsequent editions followed and it was widely read. Being recognized as the dean of the medical profession in the New World, it can be readily understood how Rush's publications would exert great influence.

He contended against the use of distilled liquors, but did not, in his earlier writings, advocate total abstinence from intoxicants. However, in many respects present day science has not improved on his knowledge of the effects of

alcohol on the human system. Among other things he says:

“Spirits in their first operation are stimulating upon the system. They quicken the circulation of the blood and produce some heat in the body. Soon afterward they become what is called sedative; that is they diminish the action of the vital powers and thereby produce langour and weakness.

“The effects of spirituous liquors upon the human body in producing diseases are sometimes gradual. A strong constitution, especially if it be assisted with constant and hard labor, will counteract the destructive effects of spirits for many years. But in general they produce the following diseases: a sickness at the stomach, a universal dropsy, obstruction of the liver, madness, palsy, apoplexy, and epilepsy.”

He declares that spirituous liquors are more destructive than the sword, and then discusses their effects on “property” and upon the “moral faculty.” He combats the arguments usually advanced for the use of liquor “in very cold weather,” “in very hot weather,” and in “hard labor.” As substitutes he recommends cider, beer, and wine, all of which are outlawed in our day. But it must be remembered that he was living in the pioneer days of temperance reform.

In summing up he said:

“Thus have I in a few words pointed out the effects of spirituous liquors upon the lives, estates, and souls,

of my fellow creatures. Their mischief may be summed up in a few words. They fill our church yards with premature graves—they fill the sheriff's dockets with executions—they crowd our jails—and lastly they people the regions—but it belongs to another profession to tell their terrible consequences in the future world.”

In concluding he deplotes the degradation and destruction of the Indians by liquor and makes this most significant statement: “A people corrupted with strong drink cannot long be a free people.”

In 1798 Dr. Rush published an essay on the drink question addressed especially to ministers of the Gospel. Evidently its object was to induce them to preach vigorously, not only against the abuse of spirituous liquors, but, against their use altogether. The only time such liquors were necessary, according to his view, was in case of sickness and then they had better be applied to the outside instead of the inside of the body.

In 1811 he addressed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and distributed to the delegates copies of his writings on the subject. As a result of his appeal upon this occasion a committee of influential men was appointed to confer with other church bodies with reference to the organization of temperance societies.

The necessity for arousing the churches at that time is very apparent when we find that in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1812 an effort was made at five different times, but without success, to pass a resolution to the effect "that no stationed or local preacher shall retail spirituous or malt liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character among us." Four years later the same resolution came up but sufficient votes to pass it could not be secured until the reference to malt liquors was stricken out.

Dr. Rush was invited to address important meetings not only of Presbyterians but of Methodists, Congregationalists, and other Protestant bodies. And by means of his pen he made appeals to the Roman Catholic bishops on behalf of the cause which lay so near to his heart.

Of all the men he reached and influenced, the one who was destined to become the greatest factor in carrying forward the agitation, was Lyman Beecher. This eloquent and convincing Congregational pastor and preacher became a powerful advocate of total abstinence and spoke extensively on the subject. Soon after he located at Litchfield, Connecticut, he preached a series of six sermons on the subject. He says that these sermons were blocked out after he had

read Rush's celebrated essay. They were delivered in 1825, were published shortly afterward and widely circulated.

Dr. Billy Clark had formed the first temperance society up in New York in 1808. But there was no general movement of the kind until Beecher's six sermons had attained a wide circulation. Then such societies began to spring up with seeming spontaneity in many widely separated sections of the country. These became the forerunners of other movements which finally culminated in the organization of the Anti-Saloon League.

The modern anti-alcohol movement which has achieved prohibition for America reaches back nearly a hundred years to these early groups of temperance advocates. They grew out of the sermons of Lyman Beecher. Beecher's inspiration came in part from Benjamin Rush, Christian physician and patriot. Rush was unquestionably influenced by Anthony Benezet, Quaker schoolmaster, who when a little lad came out of Picardy, France.

VI.

BEGINNINGS OF ORGANIZED EFFORT.

Lyman Beecher's six sermons were published in 1826. Within the next three or four years there was a great awakening on the drink question in widely scattered sections of the country. Organizations for the promotion of sobriety rapidly took form. We have been able to trace several of these in Pennsylvania. They began at about the same time, and yet with seemingly little or no connection between them.

The earliest movement of which we have any knowledge in the northeastern part of the state developed at Montrose where a society was launched with forty-one members.¹ This occurred during court week in December, 1828, and persons from many sections of the county participated in it. The grand jury which was in session at that time was influenced "to abolish the custom of using ardent spirits while in session." The work spread rapidly and at the end of one year there were five hundred members in the county.

The principles of the societies were thus ex-

1. Blackman : History of Susquehanna County.

pressed: "We will not allow the use of distilled spirits in our families nor provide them for persons in our employment; and in all suitable ways we will discountenance the use of them in the community."

In 1832 a temperance hotel was opened in Montrose. When the Order of Good Templars was started in Susquehanna county, a few years later, the field for work was found to be very fertile and in a short time forty lodges were established.

A local historian to whom we are indebted for these facts says that the development in 1828 was due to the influence of Lyman Beecher's "Six Sermons" which had been widely circulated in that region.

Temperance associations began to form in Union county, and especially in Buffalo Valley, as early as 1826. Members bound themselves to use no intoxicating liquors except as medicine and to discontinue offering it to guests. The latter practice was so common that it was considered a breach of politeness to fail in it; but after a few years it became a rare thing for a host to offer liquor to visitors. An innkeeper in Sunbury made the statement that the influence of the temperance societies had reduced his sales by one-half. Discussing the movement,

the historian of that region said: "Everyone knows with what a whirlwind force public opinion in America, when once excited, bears down everything before it, and here was an illustration of its power."²

The first society organized in Lewisburg in 1821 had only seven members. Subsequent events would indicate, however, that it did some good. In 1845 a temperance hotel was opened. At an election held two years later where the question of license for the town was at issue the vote stood as follows: In favor of license, 75; against license, 210.

Distilleries had flourished in that region from an early date. In White Deer township there were in 1789 no less than six of them.

The first temperance society of Venango county was organized in Franklin in 1826. Rev. Ralph Clapp, a Methodist preacher and temperance lecturer, worked in that vicinity and was responsible for a wide distribution of Beecher's sermons on intemperance. Many meetings were held and deep interest created. The newspapers were sympathetic and the work done in those early days has had a lasting effect in that territory. The Venango County Temperance

2. Linn's Annals.

Society was organized three years after the beginning of the work in Franklin.³

We have knowledge of an organization in Fayette county as early as 1829. It was known as the "Georges Creek Temperance Society." At a meeting held February 11 of that year, attended by citizens of Georges and Spring Hill townships, the speaker was Dr. Hugh Campbell, one of the county's leading physicians. His address was published by the society in pamphlet form and is a document of unusual interest.⁴

He related his own experience of twelve years as a practicing physician. His profession required extensive travel in country districts where he was exposed constantly to rain, snow and all sorts of temperature,—hot and cold. He was compelled to lose a great deal of sleep and yet in all the twelve years he used no liquor.

In discussing the causes which led to the increase in liquor drinking he has left a pen picture of the times which is of rare value. It is summarized in the following paragraphs:

It was customary when a caller came to the house to pass the bottle and the glasses, whether he came on business or for social intercourse. Whether the day be wet or dry, cold or hot, it

3. Newton: History of Venango County.

4. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

was deemed a great breach of hospitality if the host failed to meet the requirements of the weather with an offering of liquor.

The tavern of that day was the meeting place of clubs, whether they were organized for literary or social purposes. Drinking was a part of the order of exercises and he was a brave man who refused the glass. The result was that many who began drinking in these clubs soon became confirmed drunkards.

Certain kinds of public meetings were common in that day and large numbers of people came together for a great variety of purposes. There were shooting matches, horse races, elections, militia musters, anniversaries and circular hunts. Upon such occasions heavy drinking was an almost universal custom. Dr. Campbell said he had known of one occasion where two barrels of whisky were consumed with the result that one man died drunk and sixty others were unable to get home, sleeping in the fields all night.

Dram shops, taverns and distilleries were so numerous that they held out their constant temptation to the young men in every community. But one of the worst customs of the day, as this aggressive total abstinence physician saw it, was that of furnishing whisky to laborers of

every description and especially to harvest hands. Not only did this make drunkards by the thousands but the effect on children was most deplorable. The children carried water and food to the harvesters and, as a reward for their services, were frequently given a drink of whisky and made to believe that they could never expect to become full fledged men and women unless they learned to imbibe liquor. And so that which they took in their innocence simply poisoned them and hurried them to untimely graves.

Pittsburg's earliest temperance society got under way at Lawrenceville March 15, 1830. There was organized in connection with it a saving fund society to take care of the savings of those who had given up drink. Two years later the Pittsburg Temperance Society was formed. It had a very useful career. In 1841 the Washingtonian Society had a monster convention in the city and paraded the streets in demonstration of their principles.

In 1827, there developed in Philadelphia⁵ a movement which was destined to do a great work in arousing the public conscience and creating a revival of zeal in the promotion of temperance and the struggle against alcohol.

5. Pamphlets in Library Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the month of June a number of interested persons held a preliminary meeting and on the sixteenth of the following month they formally organized "The Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits."

The annual report of that organization in 1829 brings out the following items as showing its activities: It recommended the use of wine and the cultivation of the vine as a substitute for hard liquors. It made a survey of the city as to taverns and their conditions. It tried to start a periodical, but failed. It sent a letter to the clergy asking them to preach a series of sermons on intemperance. It formed a Young Men's Temperance Society. It employed an agent, the Rev. Sylvester Graham, to do organization work. But probably the most important of its achievements consisted in persuading the Philadelphia Medical Society to appoint a committee of doctors whose duty it was to study the situation and report its findings to the public. This committee worked for six months. It made one of the most careful scientific investigations of alcohol in its relation to disease and death that ever was made by the medical profession anywhere. That committee investigated the cause of no less than 4,292 deaths and, after consultation with the physician in charge, an-

nounced that over 700 of them were due directly or indirectly to the use of liquor. The doctors charged drink with the responsibility for a large share of accidents. After the Medical Association had received this report it adopted the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That this Society earnestly advises its members to employ their personal and private influence for the suppression of the moderate use of spirituous liquors: and that for this purpose the members are advised themselves to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors under any circumstance except as a medicine.

“Resolved, That the members are advised to diminish the employment of ardent spirits in their practice as far as it is compatible with a careful and prudent consideration of the welfare of their patients.

“Resolved, That the members residing in the city and liberties of Philadelphia are particularly requested to preserve an annual record of the whole number of deaths occurring in their practice, and also of the proportion of these occasioned in their opinion by the use of spirituous liquors.”

It will be noted that this organization was neither advocating prohibition nor total abstinence. It was rather an anti-whisky movement. But the necessity of making it a straight out opponent of all kinds of alcohol which might be used for beverage purposes soon became apparent to the members.

The first anti-liquor organization with the na-

tion as its field was launched in Philadelphia in a convention which began May 24, 1833. It was on the anniversary of this date that the Anti-Saloon League was organized at Oberlin, Ohio, sixty years later, by Dr. Howard H. Russell. The attendance of delegates at that early convention was proof of a deep and general interest. Notwithstanding the extreme difficulties of long journeys in those days, there were 440 delegates present, representing nineteen states and one territory.⁶

The convention first met in Independence Hall, but, on account of its size had to be moved to the Fifth Presbyterian Church, to which place the delegates marched in a body. The foremost workers in America were in the delegation. The influence of their deliberations was far-reaching. They blazed the way for the total abstinence pledge from all intoxicants. Moreover, they went on record most emphatically in the declaration that the beverage liquor traffic was morally wrong.

The organization formed at this time was called the "United States Temperance Union." Notwithstanding the auspicious circumstances under which it came into being, it failed to become a lasting and forceful agency in temper-

6. Centennial Temperance Volume.

ance work. But the good effects of the convention itself soon became apparent.

When the "Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits" met in annual convention in 1834, its name was changed to the "Pennsylvania Temperance Society" and became an advocate of total abstinence. Roberts Vaux had resigned the presidency and Dr. Philip Syng Physic, possibly the most eminent surgeon of that day, was elected in his place.

The reports of success achieved were highly gratifying. Twenty-four thousand copies of the monthly "Temperance Recorder" of Albany were in circulation in the state. There were thirty local branches in Philadelphia, in spite of the fact that the city had 1,500 saloons. Bucks county reported seventeen societies and a report from twenty-two physicians declaring against the use of liquor. The city of Chester reported forty temperance stores and eight temperance hotels. Lewistown reported that fourteen of its fifteen merchants had quit selling liquor.

Delegates from Berks county reported that they had six furnaces and forges, employing 500 hands, which were conducted on temperance principles.

The Lancaster delegation reported the existence in that county of 293 distilleries. That

delegation, also, declared "a backwardness in the churches in various parts of the state to approve and advance the cause is painful and surprising." Perhaps the most encouraging news was that which came from Washington county. From the published reports of the convention the following paragraphs relative to that county are quoted:

"From Washington county the board has received returns peculiarly animating. That county is the great throughfare to the west. On the national road there are licensed taverns exclusive of those in the numerous villages of more than one to each mile and a half; and on the road are numerous houses of a lower grade and more injurious character, in which intoxicating liquors of almost every kind are sold. From all these a powerful opposition has been received.

"Notwithstanding this the temperance cause rapidly progresses. Thirty-six societies are truly vigilant and active, and have been rewarded for their activity by an addition of 2,010 members in the last year, making 4,813 members in Washington county or one to every nine of the whole population.

"In this county are to be found through the action of temperance societies eighty-two reformed drunkards; though melancholy to relate 432 are still wallowing in the mire. Of 174 vendors of ardent spirits, sixty-five have abandoned the traffic. Of 113 distilleries forty have extinguished their fires. In the last year eleven persons have died from intemperance. Sixteen professors of religion are engaged in the traffic. Eight-twelfths of the pauperism and crime are the fruits of spirit drinking. There are two chartered

colleges in the county in very flourishing condition, numbering nearly 400 students, the largest part of whom are members of temperance societies."

At about the same time eighty physicians of Philadelphia signed and promulgated the following statement:

"The subscribers hereto, Physicians of the County and City of Philadelphia, hereby declare it to be their opinion, that men in health are never benefited by the use of ardent spirits; that, on the contrary, the use of them is a frequent cause of disease and death, and often renders such diseases as arise from other causes more difficult of cure and more fatal in their termination."

A Medical Student's Temperance Society had been formed in the University of Pennsylvania and the "Mariners Temperance Society" for the port of Philadelphia was started in 1835.

A constitutional convention was held in 1838 and the state temperance society made an impressive appeal for the prohibition of ardent spirits, but without success. The convention of 1841 decided to make local option its chief objective. The president at that time was Hon. John H. Ewing, of Washington county, president pro-tempore of the Senate.

The state temperance society renewed its agitation for a local option law in 1846. A public appeal was published and spread broad cast

over the state. The chairman of the committee which prepared this able document was an eminent Philadelphia physician, Dr. Henry Gibbons. The committee vigorously assailed the custom of giving license to a hotel, as follows:

“The union of two branches of business—that of entertaining travelers and selling grog, is a strange anomaly. Why a house of public entertainment should be licensed to sell liquor cannot be explained. It would be quite as reasonable to license a baker, a butcher or a barber—to license a school house or a church. The very purpose of entertaining travelers and affording them a quiet and comfortable home is frustrated by the bar.”

The legislature was duly impressed by the campaign and partial success was achieved. Under the Constitution then in vogue it was possible to secure special legislation. Consequently eighteen counties, where the agitation was most persistent, were granted the privilege of self determination on the sale of rum.⁷ The law provided that the township, and the ward of boroughs and cities should be the unit. The vote was taken annually at the spring elections and came on automatically. It applied to the following counties: Beaver, Bradford, Butler, Clearfield, Chester, Crawford, Delaware, Elk, Erie, Fayette, McKean, Mercer, Mifflin, Susque-

7. Laws of 1847.

hanna, Tioga, Warren, Washington, and Wyoming, and parts of Allegheny.

One year later, when the first vote was taken, Pittsburgh and Allegheny voted dry by a majority of over 2,000. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court and the law was declared unconstitutional by a vote of three to two in that body.⁸ The majority of the Court held that the legislature had no authority under the Constitution to delegate the law-making power to the people and that this was what was done when the latter were permitted to vote on the matter of granting license.

But from that time on until the early "70's" the legislature continued to enact an occasional prohibition law. Finally special local option came before the Supreme Court and the decision of 1848 was reversed, the opinion having been written by Chief Justice Agnew.⁹ After that and until the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution there never was any serious question about the constitutionality of local option.

8. Supreme Court Reports.

9. Supreme Court Reports.

VII.

TAKING A PLEBISCITE.

The middle of the nineteenth century found temperance sentiment at low ebb, especially in the City of Brotherly Love. Here there were 1,500 saloonkeepers who paid license fees which averaged \$40. But there were 5,000 others who paid none.¹

In politics the rumsellers were a mighty factor. They dominated the conventions and, at will, with rare exceptions, named the public officials. One of the exceptions occurred about that time when they made an effort to defeat a faithful Philadelphia judge for reëlection. He had refused to bow the knee to them and was marked for the slaughter. Forty-two of them sat in the convention and succeeded in defeating him for the nomination. The city, however, became aroused over the affair and elected him on an independent ticket. The advantage of the liquor dealers in politics was greatly enhanced by the fact that the tavern was the customary polling place.

1. Files *Public Ledger*.

In 1850 there were 5,199 committals to Blockley Almshouse. Over half that number, or 2,604, were either drunk or suffering from delirium tremens, the latter being very common in those days.

The rapid increase in crime about that period may be understood by a comparison of arrests in the years 1848 and 1851 for those crimes more particularly due to drink. In the former year the total number of arrests for "assault and battery," "breach of peace," "intoxication," and "vagrancy" was 3,327; but by 1851 the arrests for these same offenses had climbed to 8,185.

The Hon. William D. Kelley, who afterward achieved fame in Congress, was on the bench at that time and, in the course of a public address, said he had been presiding for some time in criminal court and that every case coming before him was the result of liquor drinking.² "And, yet," he exclaimed, "legislatures *will* license taverns!"

Another eminent jurist of that day was Judge A. V. Parsons. In charging the grand jury at the Court of Quarter Sessions, February, 1851, he made a vigorous attack on the license policy and denounced any one who would attempt to

2. Mullen: Appeal to Taxpayers.

justify it for the sake of the revenue. He said Pennsylvania was poor indeed if the government must depend on the degradation and destruction of the people to obtain necessary revenues. Reaching a climax he exclaimed: "I say to you, gentlemen, Philadelphia is one vast groggery and no one who will sit with me in this criminal court for two months, and hear the sad recitals of crime arising from the excessive use of ardent spirits, can doubt it."

Moral and civic conditions throughout the state had sunken to such a depth that the decent manhood and womanhood was constrained to rise in rebellion and demand a new condition of affairs. Consequently a decided revival of temperance interest was manifest within a short time.

In 1851 Neal Dow succeeded in securing prohibition for the state of Maine. Other states began to feel the effects of his work, Pennsylvania among them. Soon after his triumph in Maine he visited Philadelphia and was accorded high consideration. Fifteen hundred representative citizens gave a banquet in his honor and, as a token of their esteem, presented him with a silver service. Judge Kelley was the toastmaster upon this occasion and made a notable plea for prohibition.

Prior to the political campaign of 1853 a movement was quietly put on foot throughout the state to secure election to the legislature of candidates committed to prohibition. It was nonpartisan and the results were highly satisfactory. More than 100,000 votes were cast for candidates who stood openly on an anti-liquor platform.

This election proved a powerful stimulus to the prohibitionists and prompted the calling of a convention in Harrisburg in January, 1854, the legislature then being in session. Over 900 accredited delegates, representing all sections of the state, were in attendance. Judged by immediate results it was one of the most influential meetings of reformers ever assembled in the history of the state. It is in place to pause for a moment and recall what it meant to travel to Harrisburg from distant sections in the dead of winter in those days. The Pennsylvania Railroad had just been completed and hence travel from Philadelphia and Pittsburg was not so difficult. But there were large delegations from the northeast and northwest counties. Hundreds of them were obliged to travel on horseback and the journey in each direction required several days.

The ministry was well and ably represented,

but did not have a preponderance of delegates. Nor were there many women present. One of the most influential delegates was the Rev. Dr. A. B. Quay, a Presbyterian pastor of Beaver county, the father of Matthew Stanley Quay.

This convention requested the legislature to enact a prohibition law on the strength of the dry vote cast at the recent election. It expressed the conviction that if the people should have a trial of prohibition for six months or a year they would be so highly pleased with results that the endorsement of the policy by popular vote would be inevitable. Among the resolutions adopted was the following: "That no submission of the question, without a law will receive even our attention, much less our sanction—we will not vote upon it." In case the legislature should fail to recognize their demands the officers were authorized to launch a new political party.

Through this convention the legislature accurately felt the pulse of the people and at once got busy. Considerable legislation of a progressive character was put upon the statute books. It was compromise legislation, of course, but was far in advance of anything up to that date. The lawmakers refused, however, to go the limit of the convention's demands and pass a prohibi-

tion statute. But they did submit the question to a vote. It did not come in the form of an amendment. It was not even a law to be accepted or rejected. It was simply a plebiscite, with the understanding that if it received a majority then the next legislature would be expected to pass laws carrying into effect the will of the people. The temperance leaders accepted the situation gracefully and went after the vote.

State elections were held at that time in October. And so in 1854 the people of Pennsylvania for the first time in their history had the opportunity to express their wishes at the polls on this vital question. The ballots read: "For a Prohibition Law" and "Against a Prohibition Law." The total vote cast was 321,785. Over fifty thousand electors who cast ballots on the Governorship failed to express themselves on this subject. The liquor interests saved themselves by a bare majority of 5,039. The vote for prohibition was 158,373 while that against it was 163,412. Prohibition was defeated, but the large vote in its favor had a most wholesome effect on subsequent legislation.³

3. For vote by counties see Addenda.

VIII.

A COUNTY OPTION EXPERIMENT.

In two ways the Civil War gave alcohol a stronger grip upon the country than it ever had previous to that ordeal. In the first place, Congress felt that the taxes on liquor should be sufficiently heavy to make it the chief source of revenue for carrying the war to a successful finish. Mr. Lincoln greatly feared the results of this policy and protested against it. After reaching an agreement with the congressional leaders he reluctantly consented with the understanding that when the war was over and the Union saved, the tax should be repealed. But after Lincoln was laid low by the hand of the assassin, the leaders forgot to redeem their pledge and the subsequent struggles to achieve deliverance from the curse of strong drink were made more difficult by the revenue argument.

In the second place, the war had wrought havoc with the personal habits of a multitude of the country's defenders. Whisky drinking was common both among officers and privates. No objection was ever raised against it except where unfitness for duty resulted. Of the young

men who went into the army total abstainers a large percentage came out with the drink habit fastened upon them for life.

During the period of the war the state legislature was absorbed with other questions and gave practically no attention whatever to liquor legislation. Moreover, the people themselves were thinking of but one thing—the war must be carried on to victory—and hence there was little agitation calculated to promote temperance.

Within two years, however, after the suppression of the rebellion, anti-liquor sentiment flamed up again, as it had done in the decade preceeding the war. In consequence there was held in Harrisburg, in February, 1867, one of the most successful conventions of temperance advocates that the state has ever seen. It was not so largely attended as that of 1854, but there were gathered together over six hundred earnest workers. Governor John W. Geary was the temporary, and General Louis Wagner the permanent, chairman. A State Temperance Union was organized with James Black of Lancaster at its head.

Soon afterward there arose the agitation for a political party with prohibition as the chief plank in its platform. A meeting of workers,

held in Harrisburg in February, 1870, was confronted with the party proposition, but refused by an overwhelming vote to launch an enterprise of that kind.¹ On the other hand, a resolution was passed calling upon all the friends of temperance to fight for the adoption of a local option law by the legislature. That decision had its influence, as the action of the next legislature shows.

When the lawmakers assembled at Harrisburg in the winter of 1871, they were confronted by petitions carrying nearly 100,000 names asking for a local option law. A bill was framed providing for an election every three years, with the township, borough, and ward as units. The wet forces put up a stubborn fight, but the local optionists finally secured the adoption of their measure in the House by a vote of fifty-one to thirty-one.² The leader of the dry forces was D. N. White, of Allegheny county. The bill was sent to the Senate which body "pickled" it in committee. Five different efforts were made to discharge the committee and bring the bill out for consideration. They finally failed by a vote of fourteen to fifteen.

The defeat of the measure served to stimulate

1. Centennial Temperance Volume.

2. Legislative Journal, 1871.

the demands of the temperance folks, who came up to the legislature of 1872 with a county option bill. Monster petitions confronted the lawmakers and the legislature proved responsive. The bill passed the House by a vote of sixty to thirty-four and the Senate by a vote of sixteen to fourteen. It was promptly signed by Governor Geary.³ This law provided that the first vote should be taken in March, 1873, and every three years thereafter. A city could vote wet or dry independently of what the county in which it was located might do. On the other hand a county outside of its cities could vote wet or dry without regard to what the city might do. For example, Meadville and Titusville both voted for license while the remainder of Crawford county went into the no-license column.

The election was to be held on the same day all over the state. It did not apply, however, to the city of Philadelphia, although there were some wards in that city which had been given local option laws by special enactment. Nor did it apply to Potter county, which had been made dry territory in 1850 by a special act. The law provided that whenever a majority of the electors of any county or city voted dry, then no license could be issued in said county or city until

3. Legislative Journal, 1872.

the verdict of the people was reversed at a subsequent election. Elections were to be held automatically every three years.

The first vote taken was a veritable eye-opener to the rum advocates. The returns⁴ showed conclusively that the legislature had not misunderstood the sentiment of the people when it adopted county option. Forty counties went into the no-license column. The only cities to adopt prohibition were Altoona and Williamsport.

The liquor dealers who had been put out of business got in touch immediately with their more fortunate tradesmen in other counties. They began at once to organize the entire state, looking toward the repeal of the law. In a few months the legislature, session of 1874, was again at work, and was face to face with a determined effort for the repeal of the county option law. The fight that ensued was a lively one, but the law stood.

One of the leading defenders of the statute was Charles S. Wolfe, an able lawyer who represented Union county. He was afterward a candidate for Governor on the Prohibition party ticket. Another defender who manifested great ability in that contest was James A.

4. See Addenda.

Stranahan, a young attorney from Mercer county. Mr. Stranahan afterwards removed to Harrisburg, and was the chief legal counselor of the Anti-Saloon League from the beginning of its work in this state until the removal of its headquarters to Philadelphia in 1913.

When the legislature met in 1875 it was quickly discovered that the liquor interests were in control. A repealer was promptly introduced⁵ and referred to the committee on "Vice and Immorality." So eager were the lawmakers to get through with their business that they rode over all legislative rules, took the bill out of its order and railroaded it through with a great rush.

The friends of county option fought valiantly, but were simply overwhelmed. The haste of the proponents to get the killing quickly over, led them to shut off the debate, and some of the local optionists were obliged to file their speeches in order to get them into the records. Strong appeals for the retention of the law were made by Joseph H. Nissley of Dauphin, J. K. Billingsly of Washington, B. C. Cristy of Allegheny, and J. K. Thompson of Indiana.

A number of the champions of booze indulged in oratorical flights. The speeches delivered by the enemies of prohibition a half century ago

5. Legislative Journal, 1875.

read very much like those to which we have listened repeatedly during the last decade. Hon. W. B. Butler, of Cumberland county, of whom we have no knowledge except what his speech reveals, gives us a fine sample of the arguments of the opponents of county option. He also testifies that the clergy of that time, as well as now, were the real leaders of temperance reform. Hear him:

“If those ministers of the Gospel, who are continually haranguing upon the temperance question, and thereby causing hate and enmity to be engendered in the minds of their people, would confine themselves to the business of saving souls through kindness and charity, I have no doubt their efforts would be crowned with unbounded success, and their labors with an abundant harvest. It is a self-evident truth that the more ministers stir up strife and agitate any question in which a large portion of the people are interested they, to a certain extent, diminish their amount of usefulness in the community, and I hold that instead of joining the crusaders they should confine themselves to preaching Christ and Him crucified.”

After having passed the House, the repealer was sent to the Senate. In that body it had numerous champions and county option was wiped off the books by a vote of thirty-one to seventeen. Senator Thomas Chalfant, of Montour county, seems to have been the chief spokesman of the liquor interests in the Senate at that time.

John F. Hartranft, who had been a gallant soldier in the Civil War, was then the Governor and affixed his signature to the bill April 12, 1875. By giving it his approval he opened the floodgates of license and the saloon was forced back on the people of forty counties, notwithstanding the fact that they had cast it out by the exercise of their sovereign rights of citizenship.

In a meeting held by the Friends, at their place of worship in Philadelphia in 1915, Joshua L. Bailey, one of the oldest and best known temperance leaders in the state, told of a conversation which he had with Governor Hartranft before the latter's death, in which the Governor stated that his signature to that repealer caused him more regret in after years than any other single official act he had ever performed.

When the Constitutional Convention was in session in May, 1873, a vigorous contest was waged in an effort to write a prohibitory section into the proposed new Constitution. Those who combated the proposition insisted that the newly enacted county option law should first be given a fair trial. The prohibitionists were defeated by a vote of sixty to forty-four.

IX.

A HERO OF TWO WARS.

The autumn of 1862 found the country in a discouraged state of mind. The speedy suppression of the rebellion had not materialized. The outlook was not cheerful. Much blood had been shed and little progress achieved. Abraham Lincoln was calling for more men. He knew what it would mean to the homes of America, but he also knew what it would mean to this land of freedom, if the people were not willing to pay the price.

Located at McAlisterville, Juniata county, was an academy whose principal was George F. McFarland. Under his instruction were the boys of that section who were considered too young to bear arms. The head master, then twenty-eight years old, decided he must heed the call of Lincoln, and some of the older lads wanted to go with him. He formed them, with his neighbors, into a company and became their captain. Their average age is said to have been less than eighteen. Together with a few country school teachers they made up what afterwards became Company D, One Hundred Fifty-

first Pennsylvania Volunteers. Soon after the company was mustered into service its captain was made lieutenant-colonel. It fell to his lot to lead the regiment through the battle of Chancellorsville. When the crisis came at Gettysburg he brought his men to that field by forced marches and went into action immediately.

When the tourist visits the battle field of Gettysburg, his guide points out to him the spot where, during the first day's battle, one of the most brilliant feats in the military annals of America was performed by these volunteers. Concerning their conduct General Doubleday afterward said: "I can never forget the services rendered me by this regiment, directed by the gallantry and genius of Col. McFarland. I believe they saved the First Corps and were among the chief instruments to save the Army of the Potomac and the country from unimaginable disaster. They won under McFarland an imperishable fame."¹

They fought near the scene where General Reynolds had fallen only a short time before. They were thrown into a breach and held the line until the rest of the hard-pressed army could be drawn back in orderly retreat. The regiment went into action with 487 men. That

1. History Pennsylvania Volunteers.

night when the remnants were gathered together on Cemetery Hill they numbered 113. The battle field was strewn with their dead. Their commander, with both legs shattered, was captured by the Confederates and placed in one of the buildings of the theological seminary.

Col. McFarland passed three days without medical attention. The doctors then pronounced his case hopeless. One leg was amputated twice and the other, becoming infected, caused him life-long suffering. However, through the careful nursing of his wife, who arrived on the scene soon after the battle, and his own grit, he survived, in spite of all prophecies of the physicians. That autumn found him back at the academy lying on his back and taking up again his work as a teacher. At the close of the Civil War he was one of the chief instruments in securing the establishment of state schools for soldiers' orphans.

The diary of Col. McFarland shows that in his early youth he became interested in temperance and prohibition and strove for their promotion. Eight years after he had thrown himself into the breach in the darkest hour of the Civil War he saw and seized an opportunity to

fight for the deliverance of his country from king alcohol.

In April, 1871, he bought a small paper which had been started at Williamsburg, Blair county, by W. A. Thompson. It was called the *Temperance Vindicator*. For six years McFarland literally poured his own life, that of his family and his earthly substance into this paper. With the same high courage which characterized him as a soldier, he maintained his war against strong drink, at a time when there were few to encourage and support his efforts.

In 1877, when the panic of that period had reached its worst phase, the *Vindicator* had to give up the ghost. However, during the six years of his management it had been a live sheet, and its editor, who went to his grave in 1893, probably never fully realized the importance of the work he had done in laying foundations on which a later generation was to win the final victory.

During the period of the *Vindicator's* life there were many lively scenes at the Capitol: The county local option law was passed, forty counties voted dry, and then the legislature repealed the law; the Prohibition party was formed and a personal friend of Col. McFarland's, James Black, of Lancaster, became its

first presidential candidate; the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized. The Crusades came within that period. It also witnessed the rise of Francis Murphy's work.

Col. McFarland through his paper proved a mighty factor in helping to make these movements effective in Pennsylvania. The sacrifices which he made must forever challenge the admiration of a grateful people who have lived to see the triumph of prohibition.

When the word reached McAlisterville that Col. McFarland was wounded, his young wife took their three-year-old boy and hurried to the scene of battle. When that same boy was twelve years of age he went to work at the printer's game in the office of the *Temperance Vindicator*. For six years he toiled without compensation, except his board under the roof of his father. That boy is now one of Harrisburg's best known citizens, Mr. J. Horace McFarland, President of the American Civic Association. A contribution of six years' free service to the cause of temperance on the part of a growing boy in that day deserves generous recognition. Equally gratifying is the fact that he has never relaxed his fighting interest in the cause.

X.

A NEW ARMY IN ACTION.

The most important event in the history of the Commonwealth with reference to the fight against alcoholism and for the promotion of temperance and prohibition occurred in 1885. Robert Emory Pattison was serving his first term as Governor, the first Democrat since 1860 to hold that high office. Pattison was a Philadelphia lawyer, the son of a Methodist preacher, and still under thirty-two years of age at the time of his election.

Aside from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Good Templars, and the Prohibition party, there was no organized anti-liquor movement in the state. There was tremendous sentiment in favor of further repression of the saloon, but it was not believed to be strong enough to organize a winning fight against the combined political and liquor machines. The triumph of Pattison in 1882 had created new hope, however, and a determined struggle was waged in the legislature of 1883 to secure submission of a Constitutional Prohibition Amendment.

The dry forces selected the House of Representatives as the battle ground. The liquor men soon proved they were in complete control and amended the resolution so as to provide for compensation of those who might be put out of business. They then turned and killed the resolution itself.

The debates of those days did not differ materially from what has been said on similar occasions in recent years. The chief pro-liquor orator seems to have been Nathaniel Horne, a local Methodist preacher from Cambria county. He greatly deplored the activity of the churches and the ministers in agitating the question, and thought they would do much better if they gave their attention to the preaching of the Gospel and the saving of souls. Continuing he said:¹

“Now, I would go to the man in the gutter and lift him up. I would not say to him: ‘Come, poor fellow, we have got a constitutional amendment that will remove temptation,’ but I would say, ‘Stand up in the dignity of the manhood which God has given you the will to assert. Assert it in the name of the Lord and be a man. Show yourself a man before the world and resist the Devil and he will flee from you.’ When, oh! when do you ask me will all evil, including intemperance be banished from the world? I say, not by passing prohibitory amendments, not by passing prohibitory laws.”

1. Legislative Journal, 1883.

Major Isaac B. Brown, of Erie, one of the dry leaders, in reply to Horne's address, observed that there "were few Methodist ministers this side of the infernal region who were not in favor of prohibition and of this amendment."

In his biennial message, January 6, 1885, Governor Pattison made a vigorous onslaught on the liquor business. He talked like a modern crusader. Neither his style of thought nor his manner of life were on the low level of the machine politician. His friends expected something worth while from him and they got it. The literature of temperance reform contains no deliverance more direct and more forceful than that of the vigorous young Chief Executive when he said:²

"I have no hesitation in pronouncing that in the estimation of the Executive there is no more wide spread and debasing evil, alike injurious to the morals, health, public usefulness, law-abiding spirit, happiness, and prosperity of the people, than the present virtually unrestricted sale of intoxicating drinks. There is no disinterested and careful observer, no student of practical government, who, if he speaks his mind, will not admit that drunkenness is the most prolific cause of poverty, crime, misery and sin that afflicts the people. The convicts in our prisons, the paupers in our almshouses, the inmates of our insane institutions, and the inhabitants of the abodes of squalor and shame are largely recruited from the dram

2. Legislative Journal, 1885.

shops and taverns. In its moral and economic aspects the State is equally concerned in the problem of the repression of drunkenness. The subject has reached a point where the decent and law-abiding people of the community have become aroused to the necessity for effective action, and it behooves the General Assembly in response to that just sentiment, to look the question fearlessly in the face, and adopt such judicious measures as will at least effect an amelioration of the evil."

The temperance folk of the state again made a demand for a constitutional amendment. They staged it in the House of Representatives as usual. Their leader was Hon. Willis J. Hulings,³ one of the youngest members, a representative from Venango county. Again, as in 1883, the resolution was killed, after the liquor machine had amended it to provide for compensation.

However, the lawmakers of 1885 did perform one deed of supreme moment and legislated better than they knew. Through the ignorance of at least some of them the state has attained incalculable benefits. One of the first bills introduced into the Senate provided for universal public school instruction to show the effects of alcohol and narcotics on the human body. It provided that all teachers be trained for and required to teach physiology and hygiene, giving

3. See Chapter XV.

special attention to the evil effects of strong drink. It passed the Senate unanimously and had few adverse votes in the House.

To the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and especially to their great scientific leader, Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, is due full credit for the success of this legislation. It was their fight. It was their victory. The preparatory campaign was superbly organized. Petitions carrying over 100,000 names and representing every section of the state were presented. Antagonisms were carefully avoided. The good women were able even to secure the signatures of more than one hundred Philadelphia saloonkeepers to their petitions.

The adoption of this law was of infinitely more value in the long run than the adoption of prohibition by that same legislature could have been. In the absence of scientific knowledge on the part of the common people and without a strong organization capable of maintaining a sustained contest at the polls, prohibition could not have been successfully enforced and sooner or later would have been repealed. Let it never be forgotten, however, that every real fight ever made in the state to secure either prohibition or local option had educational value and was a

substantial contribution toward achieving the ultimate goal.

That was a masterly stroke on the part of Mrs. Hunt and her colleagues when they quietly induced the legislature to move the army of Pennsylvania school teachers up onto the firing line. Never before nor since did the ranks already fighting for a sober nation receive such powerful reinforcements in a single campaign. The new army went into action at once. The personnel of its ranks has been constantly changing, but it has never failed. It has accomplished what could never have been done either by ballot or sword.

On Sunday the preacher and the Sabbath school leader hurled defiance at king alcohol. On moral and religious grounds they made their attack and demanded unconditional surrender. On week days the public school teachers followed up the attack by showing the nature of the ages-old king and the cruelty of his reign. They imparted scientific knowledge of his health-destroying and death-dealing career. They planted in the soul of the child not only a fear, but a hatred, of this most relentless foe of human kind.

So it came to pass that foundation principles were firmly laid in the public schools. It is

charged, and with some measure of truth, that large numbers of drinking men have voted for dry candidates when the opportunity came to them. The brewers have denounced this as hypocrisy, but it is not. It is the logical result of the law of 1885. At the ballot box reason got the better of appetite, and faithful teachers, after many days, have seen their instruction bring forth fruit for the healing of the nation.

XI.

REGULATION AT ITS BEST.

The high license law which was enacted in 1887 and continued in operation until national prohibition became effective, was sponsored by representative William H. Brooks, of Philadelphia, and was known throughout the country as "The Brooks High License Law." For thirty-three years it successfully withstood every attempt to repeal it or to materially modify its provisions. It became popular with the advocates of regulation and they pointed to it as a model of excellence in restraining the traffic in strong drink. Its principal provisions were as follows:

1. Licenses were granted by the Court of Quarter Sessions for a period of one year but might be revoked for cause or transferred by the court.

2. Applicants must be citizens of the United States and must present a petition signed by at least twelve electors certifying to the necessity of the license and to the good moral character of the applicant. Applicant was obliged to file a

bond for proper observance of the law in the sum of \$2,000.

3. The court was authorized to hear all petitions for and against applications and determine whether the provisions of the law had been met and whether there existed a necessity for the license.

4. Licensees were forbidden to sell liquor on election days, on Sundays, to minors, to persons of known intemperate habits, or to any person visibly intoxicated.

5. The license fees provided for in the original bill were later increased and after 1899 were as follows: Cities of the first and second class, \$1,100; cities of the third class, \$550; boroughs, \$200; townships, \$100.

Under the provisions of the Brooks law the widest possible difference existed in the conduct of the courts. Some judges construed the law as giving them authority to refuse all licenses. The only county in the state, however, in which no retail license was ever granted under this law was Greene.

In some sections of the state and especially in the anthracite region licenses were granted very numerously. In Schuylkill county, in 1916, there was one license for each 196 of population. Lackawanna had one saloon for each 292 per-

sons, and Luzerne had a drinking place for each 278. Thus it will be seen that a high license fee did not necessarily affect the number of licenses granted.

The Brooks Law caused the liquor interests to give diligent attention to the election of judges. Consequently many men who were elevated to the bench owed their promotion to the corruption funds of the brewers and saloon-keepers. Naturally they were obliged to pay their debts, and the results were disastrous to the cause of temperance and sobriety in many a community which was made the victim of this conspiracy.

When William Penn placed the granting of license at the discretion of the court he thought he was doing it for the best interests of subsequent generations. But could he now behold that company of judges and ex-judges in this commonwealth who forfeited public esteem and personal honor to obtain or retain public office at the hands of the brewery barons, the founder of the commonwealth would doubtless question the wisdom of his course.

In the Brooks Law the effort to regulate the rum traffic had its very best possible trial. But the long trail of poverty, crime, insanity, political corruption, industrial inefficiency and

human suffering which it left demonstrated conclusively that regulation was an ignominious failure and that there was only one possible treatment for the beverage liquor traffic—its complete annihilation.

If there should be a saloon for the sale of liquor, those who kept it desired that there be in the law some recognition of necessity. Otherwise, they would have no legal ground on which to defend their conduct in dispensing a poisonous beverage. So at a very early date the legislature made requirement that license could be granted only where the necessity for its existence had been shown.

When the Brooks Law was enacted this feature was retained. It early became a bone of contention and continued as such until the advent of prohibition. There was wide difference of opinion among the judges themselves as to what constituted necessity. Many of them held that a license was necessary wherever there was demand for a hotel, and especially if said hotel could not be maintained without the profits which would come from a bar.

Other judges held that the necessity for hotel accommodations should not be regarded as a factor in the case, but that the matter of necessity should be determined by the drinking habits

of the community and the consequent demand for a place where liquor might be procured.

In order to determine the necessity for any particular license the judge was required to hear witnesses and to give due regard to petitions, for and against. Having heard the witnesses and considered the petitions, he could decide the case according to his own ideas. There were frequent appeals to the higher courts, but a judge who was shrewd enough to make his decision without rendering an opinion therewith could act as autocratically as a Kaiser, without fear of reversal by a higher court. He could make a community dry, or plant a saloon on every street corner, and there was no redress.

Just as there was wide difference of opinion among jurists as to what constituted necessity, so there was diversity of ideas among those who had less legal learning but were desirous of dispensing liquor. While holding court in 1910 Judge Fuller, of Luzerne county, made notes of answers given by applicants and witnesses to one particular question which he asked them. In order to determine what was in the mind of the applicant or his friends that would show necessity, the judge propounded to them the following question: "Why in your opinion should this place be licensed?" He afterward pub-

lished some of the answers to that question as follows:

“Because it is just as necessary as any other place.”

“Because it is the first place coming in and the last place going out of town.”

“Because it is on a dangerous hill where you can run in to telephone in case of an automobile accident.”

“Because the only other place in the ward is so crowded that you cannot get close to the bar and must wait ten or fifteen minutes for a drink.”

“Because there is no other place within two hundred feet.”

“Because there is no other place on the same side of the street.”

“Because the applicant is an Italian from Sicily, while the nearest license is an Italian from Northern Italy.”

“Because the applicant is a Greek, and a great many strangers of that nationality arrive every day who can speak no other language.”

“Because the applicant has ten small children.”

“Because the applicant has fits whenever he tries to work.”

“Because the applicant lost one of his legs in the mines.”

“Because the applicant lost both of his legs on the railroad.”

“Because the more the merrier.”

“Because the township needs the revenue.”

“Because the neighboring church wants a place handy for its members.”

“Because the applicant is an old man who has been keeping a speak-easy and wants to do a legitimate business before he dies.”

The rank injustice of the Brooks law soon became well understood by the people in those counties where the liquor forces were able to dominate the courts. And the frequency with which the judges forfeited the esteem of the public and forced the grog shop on an unwilling people, constitutes a nasty page of Pennsylvania history. Hundreds of communities which were made drunken and debauched by the planting or retention of saloons in their midst, contrary to the expressed will of a majority of their people, owed their deplorable experiences to the action of the courts.

One illustration in point must suffice to show real conditions. We cite the case of a village in one of the western counties of the state. In 1910 it had enjoyed freedom from the saloon for thirty years and the sentiment of its people was overwhelmingly for a continuance of the dry policy. When application was made for license the petitioners numbered 126 and the remonstrants 329. In assessed valuation of property the ratio was eight to one in favor of the remonstrants, and yet the license was granted.

Both judges of the county had been elected with the enthusiastic support of the liquor interests. In his primary campaign the junior member of the court had spent, according to his

own sworn account, \$21,541.92. In the fall election he spent \$5,708.78. His political manager spent for him \$25,275, making a total sworn expense of \$52,525.70 to secure his nomination and election.

The applicants for license in the village above cited were the son and son-in-law of the junior judge's political manager and the license was granted to them. A brother of the manager was given a license in another fertile field and each of his two brothers-in-law were granted licenses at two other points which were sure to produce immense revenues from the bar.

Now come back to the unfortunate village whose people had made the hardest possible fight to prevent the court from forcing this iniquity upon them. The saloon opened for business May 2 of that year. By three o'clock in the afternoon the bar was closed, the supply of liquor having run out. Early in the morning the foreign-born element from mining towns not far distant began to pour into the village. The streets were full of drunken men committing indecencies before the eyes of women and children. Intoxicated men wallowed like hogs in the mire. One reputable citizen living on one of the main thoroughfares leading out of the town to a mining community counted two hundred persons in a drunken condition.

Scenes indescribably disgusting characterized the village, which for thirty years had been a veritable garden spot and the home of a decent, quiet and respectable people. The liquor forces had demanded a reward for their political services and the unoffending citizens of the once peaceful town were compelled to pay the price.

Let us now take a few moments to look in on a typical Pennsylvania license court. We will select one which the writer visited in 1913—that of Delaware county.

The court house at Media, seat of justice for said county, is being repaired and enlarged. The armory in this ancient Quaker town is now doing service as a court room. For over a week the time of those appointed to dispense justice is being consumed in hearing applications for license. The license court of Delaware county is little different from that in other counties of the state where a strenuous campaign against the liquor business is in progress.

The old slave market of other days is a matter of history. There remain only a few crude pictures of it and a few vivid pen portraits drawn by those who actually witnessed it. Today it is regarded as one of the most frightful blots upon American civilization. Coming generations will look back on the license court with something of

the same feeling of horror that we of this generation contemplate the auction block of the days gone by.

Look at that scene yonder in Media! Occupying the bench are two aged judges—Bromall and Johnson. Under the Constitution of the state and by the votes of the people they have been chosen to interpret law and administer justice as between man and man. But what is this business in which they are engaged now?

Before them is a group of lawyers, and back of these lawyers five hundred men and women, and beyond the walls of this temple of justice a hundred thousand people watching with intense interest the scenes that are there transacted.

Before the court appear certain citizens who desire the government to sell them the privilege of dispensing liquor. The final determination of the matter is in the hands of the judges who sit as the representatives of the people.

By these judges, by the applicants themselves, and by almost unanimous voice of all the people, the sale of liquor is considered a dangerous business. It is frankly admitted by all that it is the source of the great bulk of crime, poverty and insanity which blots our beloved land.

Yet, in spite of this fact, the applicants are there demanding that they be granted this privi-

lege and agreeing that they will share with the public their profits.

The applicant is a man of good moral character. That is proven by the action of twelve of his fellow citizens, also of good moral character, who have signed a paper certifying the said fact.

And now come the remonstrants who aver that there is no necessity for the sale of drink at the place applied for. In proof of their averment, they file a remonstrance signed by thousands of the best citizens of the community.

Anticipating the difficulty of convincing the court they proceed to pile up testimony as to the previous conduct of the place. They drag out old family skeletons; witnesses freely discuss from the witness stand the drinking habits of individual citizens of the community. Charges of law violation are made against the applicant. After he has robbed a man of his manhood and turned him into a common barroom loafer, he is forbidden to sell to him.

A common drinker is seen to enter the barroom. He has been on the "flag" list. He comes out drunk, but the honorable court rules that he may have had the liquor in his pocket when he went into the barroom, or he may have gone on through the barroom to an alley in the

rear and there secured it. In other words, the fact of his coming out drunk is no evidence that he bought the liquor in the barroom. Ye gods, what strange samples of justice we do find in the Pennsylvania license court! If this same fellow had gone into the barroom and had come forth again, and if the bartender had afterwards been found with a bullet hole in his brain, the man who went in and came out might have been convicted of murder and hanged; but it doesn't take nearly so much evidence in Pennsylvania to hang a man as it does to prevent an applicant for license from getting his license when a powerful brewery is demanding that it be granted.

What a dark stain on Pennsylvania's fair name was the license court! The saloon took a mother's son and made a wretch of him, and then when that saloon sought a renewal of its license her heart strings were literally torn by having her son dragged into the limelight as a drunkard and degenerate.

Regulation at its best was a failure. It was inevitable that in the evolution of better things for mankind it should go on the scrap-heap—a fit companion of many other human devices which have been tried and found worthless.

XII.

A FRUITLESS CAMPAIGN.

When the legislature of 1887 convened, the political leaders were conscious of a deep and rapidly developing undercurrent of opposition to existing liquor conditions. Reference has been made in a previous chapter to Governor Pattison's message in 1885 and the contest for a local option law; but his party was not dominant and little heed was given to his recommendation. Two years later as he was leaving office he renewed his appeal. This time it was backed by a much stronger public sentiment within the ranks of the Republican party. The machine decided that some action was imperative and to handle the situation without imperiling its own ascendancy it agreed to submit a constitutional amendment to a vote of the people. This required favorable action by two successive legislatures and could not come to a test earlier than the Summer or Fall of 1889.

Matthew Stanley Quay, who was successor to the Camerons as head of the machine, well understood the situation and was fully prepared to meet it. Hence, the legislature of 1887 was

not only instructed to submit the necessary resolution, but it was told to enact the Brooks high license law. From the standpoint of the opponents of prohibition this action was clever in the extreme. It greatly increased the total revenue, and at the same time resulted in a radical elimination of the worst saloons. In Philadelphia alone over 4,600 retailers were forced out of business.

The new statute allayed public indignation and the danger of prohibition passed. Everywhere the liquor men pointed to the meritorious results of the Brooks law and pleaded for further trial of it. It was the life line which saved the day for rum.

The legislature of 1889 voted favorably on the resolution and Governor Beaver appointed June 18, 1889, as the day of decision. It was to be at one and the same time Pennsylvania's first and last vote on constitutional prohibition. The liquor forces triumphed overwhelmingly. The vote for the amendment was 296,617, and against it 484,644, giving an adverse majority of 188,027.¹

Almost half of the wet majority was furnished by Philadelphia, where only one vote out of every six cast was against rum. Lehigh proved

1. See Addenda.

to be the wettest county in the state, comparatively speaking, over eighty-eight per cent. of its vote being against prohibition. Berks was a close second, having only one in eight of its votes in the dry column. Twenty-nine counties were carried by the prohibitionists. Mercer was the banner dry county, returning a majority of 3,956, while Potter squeezed through with a majority of only twenty-nine. Eleven counties, which had voted dry under local option in 1873, voted wet in 1889. So complete was the triumph of the liquor forces that for almost two decades thereafter they had their way in Pennsylvania legislation, with no agency that was able effectively to confront them and challenge their right to rule.

Such in brief are the principal facts concerning the contest for a constitutional amendment. But this mere outline does not explain the why and wherefore of that crushing defeat. Besides the handicap of the newly enacted Brooks law, there were other factors in the situation which combined to make the success of such a campaign at that time an idle dream.

In the first place the plea for compensation had a powerful influence. The liquor interests had been working that argument through several years for all it was worth. They were ably,

but not successfully, combated. One of the foremost men in temperance reform at that period was Judge Daniel Agnew, of Beaver. He is credited with having prepared the bill submitting the amendment, and was one of the most active agitators whose work forced it through the legislature of 1887. The question of compensation was raised then and received much attention. Judge Agnew, who had been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and enjoyed the reputation of being one of the state's ablest jurists, in refuting the compensation plea, said:

“I am personally opposed to the compensation clause. When canals superseded turnpikes and railroads superseded canals, then hotels, warehouses and other places of business on their routes were destroyed. No compensation has ever been made. When inventions and new modes of business have destroyed old trades and modes, compensation is not made. When a curse is destroyed it is difficult to conceive the justice of paying for it.”

In the second place there was no trained leadership, either for the state, county, or community organizations. Where the opposition had abundant machinery to defend their ground, the amendment forces had nothing but sentiment and by long odds too little of that. State, county, and local organizations had to be hastily improvised. Generally, leaders were selected for

their zeal rather than for their ability. Many of them had no adequate comprehension of the measure of the task assigned to them.

There was scarcely any available literature of a convincing character and few pens could be found able to produce it. The only trained speakers had to be imported. Some of those who came in to help were very effective, but oftener than not were confronted by only a corporal's guard of hearers. Newspapers, with a few honorable exceptions, were either apathetic or hostile. Financially the campaign never hit anything better than a ten cent pace—a sure token of defeat.

Such were some of the conditions confronting Joshua L. Bailey, of Philadelphia, when he agreed to take the active management of the state campaign. Mr. Bailey had long been an ardent prohibition champion. He belonged to the Society of Friends and in business was accustomed to doing things in a big way. To him and the thousands of his colleagues who wrought with him in that campaign is due the same credit that is given to an army which is rushed into battle without sufficient training. Though suffering defeat their brows are worthy the laurels of victory.

The defeat of 1889 proved beyond question

that prohibition would never be won until there could be raised up an organization of specially trained leaders abundantly financed and always at their task. Such the Anti-Saloon League ultimately proved to be.

Again the prohibition amendment of 1889 was foreordained and condemned to the slaughter before it was ever called for judgment at the polls. The machine was greedy for corruption funds. Elections vital to its continued existence were at stake. Whisky and beer could be levied upon to produce these funds. And the machine's policy was to hold the amendment club over the heads of the liquor dealers. After they "came across" to the abundant satisfaction of the machine, the latter issued its mandate to kill the amendment. And on the appointed day execution was ruthlessly carried out.

Finally, failure of the amendment was inevitable because the churches did not rally strongly to its support. This was especially true in eastern Pennsylvania. On a most liberal estimate, the amendment did not command the support of more than one-third the Protestant churchmen of Philadelphia. There was not only indifference to an alarming degree among the churches which were traditionally favorable to prohibition, but on the part of others which had been

conservative, there was actual open opposition. In one Philadelphia ministerial meeting an eminent theologian denounced prohibition as "grossly unjust and unfair." At the close a resolution which was offered was unanimously adopted, reading as follows: "Although we cannot favor the proposed constitutional amendment, yet as Christian pastors we will use our influence to restrict the abuse of intoxicating liquors."

We have referred to this struggle as a fruitless campaign. In some respects it was worse than fruitless. In her annual address before the state convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Fall of 1890 the president, Mrs. Mary H. Jones, said: "The defeat of the Prohibitory Amendment fell with a crushing blow upon scores of weak unions, causing their disbandment, and bringing about a condition of helplessness, which disheartened and paralyzed others for a time. Succeeding this was the estrangement and opposition of former friends. The confusion thus caused, together with misunderstandings created, have made the work harder than ever before."

XIII.

SECOND WAR FOR LOCAL OPTION.

The agitation for a local option law in Pennsylvania began as early as 1830. Various temperance organizations in different sections of the state were able to create enthusiasm and attract some attention on the part of the legislature. These continued their efforts from time to time until the big fight of 1854. Interest in this method of handling the liquor traffic subsided from that date until a few years after the close of the Civil War.

By 1870, however, the agitation was revived and sufficient strength was developed to force the adoption of such a law in 1873. A history of that achievement has been given in a previous chapter. Not again until after the opening of the twentieth century did there appear any considerable demand on the part of the public for legislation of that character.

When the Anti-Saloon League began to develop strength it declared that, while its ultimate goal was nation-wide prohibition, its immediate objective would be legislation supplemental to the Brooks Law, granting the people

the right of local option. The first bill to secure any serious consideration whatever, was offered at the League's suggestion by Representative John M. Berry, of Washington county, in 1905. That was probably as strong a pro-liquor legislature as ever assembled in the state. The Berry measure was smothered in the committee.

From that time until the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment the Anti-Saloon League chose to make all its legislative contests in the House of Representatives. That body was closer to the people than the Senate and more likely to be independent of machine control. The Speaker appointed the Law and Order Committee, which was composed of twenty-five members. All liquor bills, pro and con, had first to pass that committee and be brought by it before the House for consideration. If the committee refused to report any particular bill, then a motion could be made to discharge the committee. To do that required 104 affirmative votes. Whenever the liquor forces were in control of the Law and Order Committee, it was their policy to smother legislation which they did not favor. It then became necessary for the friends of such legislation, if they desired to force every member to go on record for or

against it, to attempt to secure the discharge of the committee.

The first line-up on local option came in the session of 1907, when the bill was handled by Frank Craven, of Washington county. The committee refused to report it out; Mr. Craven made a fight to discharge the committee, but only ninety-seven affirmative votes were secured. This was not a genuine criterion of wet and dry sentiment, inasmuch as many members who would have voted against local option were in favor, for various political reasons, of testing the strength of the temperance forces on the floor of the House. The result, however looked dangerous to the brewers, and they immediately began fixing their fences preparatory to the next campaign.

In the legislature of 1909 the bill was handled by Prof. R. W. Fair, a teacher in Kiskiminitas Academy and a member from Westmoreland county. The brewers, as usual, were in control of the committee, but the political bosses deeming it unwise to repeat the conduct of the previous session, ordered the committee to report the bill to the House with a favorable recommendation. The local optionists were defeated by a vote of sixty-six to 137.

Berkey H. Boyd, a young business man of

Scottdale, Westmoreland county, sponsored the local option measure in 1911. After a determined fight the Law and Order Committee refused to report it out. Mr. Boyd thereupon moved to discharge the committee. The vote was a straight wet and dry contest. The dries were defeated by seventy-six to 121.

In the political revolution of 1912 there was a decided change in the complexion of the legislature and the independent members were exceptionally influential. They were able to bring about the election to the speakership of George E. Alter, a strong local optionist. This meant a favorable Law and Order Committee, with Alonzo S. Moulthrop, of Clearfield county, as chairman. Frank H. Rockwell, of Tioga county, handled the bill, which was again defeated, the vote being eighty-three to 121.

In 1915 the Anti-Saloon League decided to make the contest on a bill with the county as a unit. George W. Williams, of Tioga county, fathered it. Just before the vote was taken a great mass meeting of representative citizens of the state was held in Harrisburg and there was a spirited public hearing. Governor Brumbaugh exerted his utmost influence to pass the bill, but in vain. It was defeated by a vote of seventy-eight to 128.

The same bill was again put to a test in the session of 1917, with John W. Vickerman, of Allegheny county, in charge of it. The drys again sustained defeat, the vote being seventy-two to 127.

In each of these six contests there were animated discussions, both sides being generally about equally represented. Very few votes were changed by the speech-making upon such occasions, though the orators were afforded a chance to defend their action and promote their own interests among their constituents. The arguments were repeated year after year and did not materially differ from those advanced in the similar struggles of 1870-75.

Both sides recognized the fact that local option was not an ultimate goal, but a stepping stone toward prohibition. The Anti-Saloon League renewed the struggle year after year for its educational and agitational advantages, even when absolutely sure its bills would be defeated. The liquor forces defended their ground, knowing that the League program was fraught with great danger to their interests.

In the Senate the brewers were even more powerful and more insolent than in the House. The dry forces always had in the Senate some men of conviction and devotion, but there were

never enough of them to make trouble for the opposition. In 1911, and again in 1913, there was sufficient sentiment to kill a bad brewery bill which made its appearance, but nothing in the way of positive dry legislation ever had a look-in.

In 1913, Senator Chester D. Sensenich, of Westmoreland county, made a fight for an amendment to the Brooks law providing for the refusal of license to saloons on a majority remonstrance. It was smothered in committee and an effort to force it out failed by a vote of seventeen to twenty-five.

Thus ended the struggle for a law which would have given the local units the right to decide the liquor question for themselves. This ten-year campaign never had the full and hearty support of all the temperance advocates of the state. Some earnest people regarded it as a half-way measure and a compromise and believed that even if it were to become a law it would retard the triumph of prohibition.

On the other hand the Anti-Saloon League labored incessantly for it. This organization believed that there must be found somewhere ground on which a line of battle could be formed and the enemy forced to fight. Public sentiment was not sufficiently strong to secure a line-up on

a state-wide prohibition measure. The League believed, moreover, that under a local option law large sections of the state could be put dry. So did the brewers. Hence, their aggressive opposition. The experience of these dry sections would constitute a constant menace to the liquor industry and tend to create rapidly public sentiment in favor of total abolition of the traffic throughout the nation. Experience has demonstrated, in many states which adopted local option, that the policy did exactly what its friends claimed it would do. Experience in Pennsylvania demonstrated, also, that the long years of agitation, though they failed to produce a local option law, did create a marvelous sentiment against the traffic and favorable to national prohibition.

When the time came to choose a governor in 1906, local option was made an issue in a limited degree. Former Senator Lewis Emery, of Bradford, had the Fusion nomination and declared in favor of this method of handling the problem. Edwin S. Stuart, of Philadelphia, Republican, was non-committal and was elected.

In the history of Pennsylvania politics the gubernatorial campaign of 1910 stands out as one of supreme importance in the development of temperance and prohibition sentiment. In

the campaign of 1908 Mr. Taft had carried the state by a majority of 300,000. The Republican leaders believed, therefore, that they could elect any man they might choose, regardless of his fitness. When the convention met in Harrisburg the liquor leaders of the state were in evidence and demanded the right to choose the nominee because of the money they were ready to put into the contest and their ability to dominate without question the legislature. Their candidate was Congressman John K. Tener. Senator Penrose was in absolute and unquestioned control of the convention.

Mr. Tener had achieved considerable fame as a base ball pitcher and afterwards became a banker at Charleroi. In 1892 he had successfully led the fight to plant saloons in that town. Thereafter he used his influence to increase their number and, before he became the candidate for governor, his name was annually inscribed on numerous liquor license petitions. Moreover, he was a conspicuous witness in the annual license court. He had served in Congress only seven months when Senator Penrose handed him the nomination for governor. He had the open support of all the liquor interests.

The same forces, by the help of Penrose and through their king bee, James P. Mulvihill, also

dominated the Democratic convention a few days later and nominated their candidate, Senator Webster Grim, of Bucks county.

The patriotic citizenship of the state became aroused at this bi-partisan control on the part of the brewers and the party machines and called loudly for an independent ticket. Late in August a convention was held in Philadelphia by about two hundred representative men and the Keystone party was brought into being. Hon. William H. Berry, of Chester, was named as the candidate for governor.

The new party had neither organization nor funds. It did, however, have the name of a real statesman and a fearless public servant on its masthead. Mr. Berry had been the state treasurer and had been responsible for starting the investigation which resulted in the conviction of the principal actors who had defrauded the state of more than \$4,000,000 in the furnishings for the new capitol. One of the chief planks in his platform was the demand for a local option law. He had been a fearless and life long foe of the rum traffic. The meetings held by him and his backers savored more of a crusade for righteousness than of the ordinary political gathering. Volunteers flocked to his standard and the state was marvelously aroused with in-

dignation against the brewery barons and their political henchmen. As officially returned the vote stood: Tener, 415,614; Berry, 382,127; Grim, 129,395. It has never been conceded by the friends of Mr. Berry that he was defeated, believing, as they do, that the returns from many wards in Philadelphia were held up and "doctored" in order to compass his defeat. Madison F. Larkin, who opposed local option, polled 17,000 votes on the Prohibition ticket.

The campaign was a wonderful educator. It showed the stronghold the brewery interests had on the machinery of the old parties. It resulted in a complete reorganization of the Democratic party, a process which created bitterness, some of which still exists. But it brought into control of that party a body of earnest, patriotic men, such as Vance C. McCormick, A. Mitchell Palmer, Roland S. Morris and William T. Creasy. The effect on the Republican party in spite of Mr. Tener's election was very marked. So much of the Keystone party as was Republican became the nucleus of the Washington and other parties which, in 1912, supported Col. Roosevelt for president.

Roosevelt carried the state with a majority over Wilson of 49,000 and a majority over Taft of 171,000. The legislature elected that fall

was superior in every way to any which had preceded it for a generation, being noted for the amount of valuable legislation it enacted, as well as for its preparatory work looking toward the achievement of even better things at the following session.

Whilst William H. Berry failed to attain the governor's chair by the contest which he waged, yet results were achieved in the creation of public sentiment of inestimable value to the temperance cause, and in the consciousness of this fact he found his reward.

Many factors entered into the gubernatorial election in 1914. The Democrats nominated Vance C. McCormick, of Harrisburg. He and his principal colleagues on the ticket, A Mitchell Palmer and William T. Creasy, were outspoken local optionists and in harmony with their views it was made a plank in the party platform.

Prof. Martin G. Brumbaugh, of Philadelphia, had the Republican nomination. Personally, he favored local option. His colleagues on the ticket, Boies Penrose and Frank B. McClain, were powerful political friends of the liquor dealers. Through their influence the party platform was silent and the endorsement of the brewers and saloon keepers went to that ticket. This turned the great majority of the strong

temperance leaders into McCormick's camp. Brumbaugh was elected, however, and while in office, used whatever influence he had to further the prohibition cause.

Splendid help in directing the minds of the people to the iniquities of the liquor traffic was given during this campaign by Gifford Pinchot, of Pike county. He was the nominee of the Independent Republicans—Washington Party—for the United States Senate, seeking the defeat of Senator Penrose. Mr. Pinchot made a very thorough canvass of the state and everywhere called attention to the corrupting influences which the organized brewery forces were exerting in Pennsylvania politics. As an educational factor on this one line alone, although it was only incidental, his campaign proved a healthful stimulant in the promotion of the great reform. He urged local option as the first step necessary to remedy the trouble.

While the brewery barons of Pennsylvania were busy defending themselves against the assaults of the local optionists, they were flanked by the prohibition army of the U. S. A. and forced to surrender.

XIV.

NO-LICENSE CAMPAIGNS.

The year 1909 marked the beginning of a new era, so far as Pennsylvania was concerned, in the struggle to solve the alcohol problem. The Brooks law had been in operation twenty-two years. Those who had financial interests in the perpetuation of the traffic stood like a stone wall in defense of this law, refusing to submit to any amendments which would give the people the right of local option.

Moreover, the powerful influence which the dealers exerted over many of the courts had a depressing effect on those who sought to banish the barroom. In a majority of the central and western counties the rural saloon had been gradually eliminated, but in the larger towns and cities rum was so strongly entrenched that its foes generally found their assaults in vain. East of the Susquehanna the efforts to close up even the country saloon met with success only in rare instances.

It was in those early years of the new century that the traffic reached the full tide of its power,

both political and economic. Its representatives walked with a lordly air through the halls of legislation, dictating the action of the law-makers. The brewer's money had been a factor in many a judgeship election and hence that individual had the ear of the court.

In an economic way the situation was hardly less gloomy. Business men quailed before the liquor boycott. One of the most famous captains of industry in the state, himself a leader in religious work, as late as 1908, asked the Anti-Saloon League to furnish him a statement to the effect that he was not then and had not been a contributor to its funds. It promptly furnished him a "bill of health." Leading newspapers, with rare exceptions, admitted liquor advertising to their columns and hence were in no position to condemn the traffic editorially.

There was great timidity even on the part of many churches. More than one pastor found it necessary to move on as a result of utterances and activities which a few years later would have been considered by the same churches as very mild.

But along with all the disheartening phases of the struggle there was genuine encouragement for the real optimist. The churches were slowly, but surely, donning their fighting gar-

ments. Editors here and there began to throw out the liquor advertising. In spite of its reputation for truculency, the legislature was found to have a strong minority of men ready to risk their political future in defense of the home and humanity. The attitude of business men was found to be silently, but none the less certainly, swinging away from the rum fiend. And in harmony with these manifestations the number of judges who were ready to smite the curse was found to be on the increase. All they asked was sufficient legal evidence to enable them to clean up without danger of reverse by a higher tribunal. Moreover, temperance voters went at the business of electing their friends to the judiciary with a zeal that brought victory in several counties.

Remonstrance fights against individual saloons had been common under the Brooks law, but nothing had been done on a large scale. In 1908, Superintendent S. E. Nicholson, of the Anti-Saloon League, suggested the idea of conducting uniform county-wide campaigns by the remonstrance method, making the attack simultaneously on every saloon in the county and attacking on every conceivable ground that would be listened to by the court. Such a course had advantages which were instantly apparent. In

the Fall of that year a preliminary campaign for the election of a dry associate judge was on in Mifflin county and was successful. Consequently the Spring of 1909 witnessed the beginning of the movement which resulted in seventeen dry counties by the time national prohibition became triumphant.

It is a genuine pleasure to be able to record the names and the deeds of those jurists who took upon their hearts the cause of righteousness and made a record for which posterity will never cease to be grateful. They had the honor in their day and generation of removing from their respective counties the darkest blot that ever rested upon them.

In the following paragraphs reference will be made to several associate judges. It should be remembered that these men were not lawyers, but that in the granting of licenses they had an equal voice with the president judge. They are found only where a judicial district contains two or more counties.

Judge Alpheus W. Wilson refused all retail licenses in Greene county in 1880 and none was ever granted thereafter. Dr. A. B. Miller, President of Waynesburg College, organized and led the temperance forces to victory at that time. He was ably assisted by J. B. Donley,

David Crawford and Prof. William M. Nicke-son. But there still continued in the county several small distilleries, and finally a brewery was built. Against all of these a campaign was waged year after year and ultimate victory secured in 1909, under the decision of Judge James Inghram. Credit for this second victory belongs largely to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Parry, Dr. Jane Teagarden and their colleagues. They had able backing by the newspapers, especially the *Republican*, whose editor, I. H. Knox, had put his paper into the fight for prohibition as far back as 1884.

Mifflin county was put dry in 1909 by action of President Judge J. M. Woods and Associate Judge G. H. Bell. The Ministerial Association of Lewistown constituted the committee through which the many different organizations and agencies of the county operated. Among the ministers who for years toiled incessantly and courageously to deliver Mifflin county from the traffic were W. L. Mudge, E. H. Yocum, U. F. Swengel, M. S. Cressman and W. V. Grove. The leader in the prosecution of violators of the law was a business man, M. B. Dunmire. He was fearless and persistent, but passed through many bitter experiences. The enemy boycotted

his store and, upon one occasion, made a cleverly-laid plot to dynamite it. Fortunately some one talked too much and the plot was frustrated.

Judge Woods presided also over Bedford county, where he had the backing of Associate Judge J. W. Huff. In 1911 they refused all applications except one at Bedford Springs, but it was to be operated only through the summer season. The next year saw the finish of that one, also. The contest in this county was precipitated by John T. Matt in 1908, when he sought the associate judgeship on a dry platform. He was defeated by a narrow margin, but ran 1,400 votes ahead of his ticket.

Juniata county won the final victory in 1913, at which time President Judge W. N. Seibert and his associates, Z. W. Gibson and W. E. Harley, voted unanimously against all applications. The campaign resulting in the election of dry candidates for the judiciary had been conducted under the direction of the Anti-Saloon League. A vigorous platform campaign for the agitation of public sentiment was conducted by Mrs. Addie B. Parsels, and the remonstrance work was largely done by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Venango county, in which are located Franklin and Oil City, entered the no-license column

in 1914, with Judge George S. Criswell on the bench. A strenuous campaign was waged to defeat him for reëlection the following year, but he was triumphant. His discussion of the "necessity" clause in the Brooks Law is a classic on that mooted question. The field marshall of this campaign was Rev. James Albert Patterson, formerly state superintendent of the New York Anti-Saloon League. He had the best of backing on the part of the churches as well as the various temperance and reform agencies. Especially effective was the work in the literature end of the contest by Dr. W. P. F. Ferguson.

President Judge Charles E. Terry and his associates, R. E. Westlake and K. C. Mott, made Wyoming county dry in 1915, the only county in the eastern part of the state to banish all its saloons.

The Mercer county Sunday School Association, in 1911, took the initiative in the movement which resulted in deliverance for that county in 1916. Attorney James A. McLaughry was the head of the county Sunday School forces. A two-weeks' battle was waged before Judge A. W. Williams in the license court of 1913, the dry forces being represented by Mr. McLaughry and C. E. Brockway. Retailers were all refused,

but wholesalers were permitted to continue in business. The struggle was renewed one year later, at which time the old retail places were restored. In 1915 the temperance folks avoided license court and concentrated their efforts to elect Mr. McLaughry to the bench, in which venture they were successful. The following Spring the new judge gave a fair and impartial hearing to all applications and then promptly added Mercer to the list of dry counties.

When Dr. F. C. Lockwood came from Kansas to fill a professorship in Allegheny College, Meadville, he was deeply moved by the conditions which he found in that city as he noted the many temptations to the young men of the school with which he was connected. As he had opportunity, therefore, he visited many sections of the county, delivering addresses and contrasting the conditions with those he had just left in his native state of Kansas. In course of time he was followed by Dr. W. A. Elliott of the same institution. After several license court battles the county was made dry by Judge Thomas J. Prather in 1916. When the judge came up for renomination in 1917 his enemies attempted to compass his defeat, but failed. In the primaries he secured a decisive majority over all opponents. In addition to the gentle-

men above named Crawford county owes much of its success to the tireless work of Rev. S. W. Traum, as a secretary and organizer, and to Mr. A. G. Phillips, who put his money and his paper, *The Daily Messenger*, so vigorously at the service of the dry forces.

All applications in Jefferson county were refused by Judge Charles Corbet in 1916, he having been elected the previous Fall on this issue. For a number of years the prohibitionists had done remarkable work looking towards the overthrow of the saloon, but Judge Reed persistently refused to yield to their demands. Consequently, in 1915, they started out to get his political scalp and when the election was over they had the goods.

The victory in Union county was achieved in 1916, Judge Albert W. Johnson and his associates, Gottlob Rowe and A. K. Dieffenderfer, voting unanimously against license. The chief agency back of this victory was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The management of the campaign was in the hands of a committee, among whose membership the most active were Mr. R. W. Thompson, Rev. W. W. Rearick and Prof. Bromley Smith, the latter being secretary.

The enemies of license made a determined

drive on the saloons of Warren county in 1917, but when they came before the court they found that President Judge Hinckley and one of the associates were determined to keep the county in the wet column. Failing in this effort they turned their attention to the election of an associate judge who was favorable to their policy. They were victorious, and in 1918 their remonstrance campaign succeeded, both associate judges, J. W. Hughes and A. W. Mumford, casting their votes against all licenses.

In the same year the two remaining saloons of Forest county were closed by the vote of Associate Judges Lyman Cook and James P. Carson.

The triumph over the liquor interests of Perry county in 1918 ended a battle which had lasted for nine years. President Judge J. N. Keller and Associate Judge George E. Boyer were responsible for closing the last saloon. Many persons had an active part in the preparatory work which led to this result. Rev. J. T. Fox, pastor of the Reformed church, was among the earlier and most persistent workers in the campaigns which resulted in a saloonless county. W. C. Lebo, editor of the *Perry County Times*, made a most commendable record. He threw his paper into the fight even before it was apparent that there was to be a contest and he

stood loyally by every movement, political and otherwise, until the victory was achieved.

There were but two saloons remaining in Fulton county when license court convened in 1918. Rev. W. V. Grove, who had removed from Mifflin county, where he had long been a worker for the cause, took charge of a campaign which resulted in final defeat of the wet forces, President Judge Donald P. McPherson and Associate Judge William Mellott voting dry.

No-license fights were conducted for several years in Beaver county without encouragement from the court. Finally, the opponents of the business decided to change the court. They picked as their candidate a comparatively young man who had proven his worth while in the legislature—George A. Baldwin. He refused applications as rapidly as public sentiment in the various communities warranted such action. The last saloon was closed in 1919, there having been but two licenses issued the previous year.

The last county to get under the wire ahead of national prohibition was Westmoreland, which became dry May 1, 1919. This was not only the last but by far the largest county in which the no-license policy prevailed. Nearly two hundred saloons were closed by action of Judge Daniel J. Snyder, who was by appoint-

ment serving an unexpired term. As a result of this action the saloon element made war on him and after one of the most corrupt campaigns in the history of the state, in which they are believed to have spent \$200,000, Snyder was defeated for nomination for the full term.

There were several counties which conducted winning fights, but afterward lost their ground through political reverses. In 1904 the Democratic and Prohibition parties nominated William E. Porter for the judgeship of Lawrence county. All his sympathies were against liquor, in striking contrast with the gentleman who was then on the bench. As an evidence of the independent character of Lawrence county's voters, it is only necessary to state that Mr. Porter received a majority of 2,500 at the same time that Mr. Roosevelt carried the county by an equal majority. Judge Porter began to eliminate the bars as rapidly as he received the proper backing from the public. Finally, the temperance forces decided on a county-wide campaign and put it on in 1911, under the leadership of Rev. J. Elmer Campbell. It was successful and Lawrence county, including New Castle with its 40,000 people, became dry and remained saloonless for five years. In 1915, however, the outlawed dealers came back with a heavily financed cam-

paign in which, by a meager majority, they defeated Judge Porter for reëlection. Many other factors entered into the contest, but as one result of it most of the old saloonkeepers were put back on the job.

In 1915 Judge David Cameron refused all licenses in Tioga county. At the election in the fall of that year he was defeated and, after being out of business for one year, the saloons were re-licensed.

Judge James M. Galbraith made Butler county dry in 1913, but the drought lasted only one year. He was defeated for reëlection the following autumn and his successor renewed the licenses of the former saloonmen.

There were a number of counties in which strong campaigns were waged for the election of judges whom the drys believed would refuse all applications, but in which the ambition of the no-license forces was defeated.

In a number of counties where the dry forces had failed to win complete victory much work of a valuable character was done, many licenses having been refused and numerous communities made free. The workers were at a great disadvantage, because of the various interpretations of the Brooks High License Law on the part of the judges, who seemed able to summon plenty

of law and precedence to support their adverse decisions.

Chester county is the most notable one of this class. Its No-License League began work in 1912 and held steadily to its job, through defeat and victory, until the adoption of national prohibition. The saloons were reduced from fifty-nine to thirty-three. Back of the campaign at all times was the zeal, consecration and financial support of Mr. Charles L. Huston, of Coatesville, widely known steel manufacturer, philanthropist and churchman. He was president of the County League during its seven years of aggressive activity. The field marshal was John H. Cole. He supervised the organization of the seventy-two townships and boroughs, the churches and reform agencies, and conducted annual campaigns in which the county was flooded with literature. Speakers reached nearly every township and village, remonstrances were systematically circulated and vigorous fights conducted in license court. The platform work was done mostly by local men, especially pastors. Among the most active of these were W. R. Laird, T. W. McKinney, William G. Nyce, J. F. Hartman, Charles Wagner, J. Mason Wells, and A. S. Jackson. George B.

Johnson, Esq., proved a worker of value in matters pertaining to the campaign.

Much vigorous fighting was done by the dry forces in the Allegheny county court. For many years there were several hundred remonstrance contests at each session. Scores of law-breaking saloonmen were put out of business and hundreds of new applicants defeated. This work was done under the direction of a joint committee, representing various temperance and reform agencies, and headed by Dr. John K. McClurkin. Many of Pittsburgh's busiest clergy and laymen devoted largely of their time to the contests.

One county which reached the near-dry stage was Indiana. It had enjoyed a ten-year drought, beginning in 1884. After keeping it saloon-free for ten years Judge Harry White was reëlected and threw it wide open. Judge Telford, his successor, gradually reduced the licenses until, in 1915, only one was left. In the campaign that year he was defeated for reëlection by J. N. Langham who restored the coveted prize to nearly all the old grog dealers and even granted licenses in new places. The bitterness engendered by the struggle to make and keep the county dry reached a climax one night in December, 1913, when a stealthy attempt was made

to assassinate Rev. R. E. McClure, county chairman of the Anti-Saloon League. On the evening in question, while passing a dark alley, a revolver was thrust at him and fired with direct aim at his heart. This was in fulfillment of numerous threats which had been made on account of the preacher's aggressive campaign against law violators. The attempt at assassination was unsuccessful owing to the Bible which he carried under his arm. The bullet entered the back of the Book and pierced it as far as the sixth chapter of Exodus.

Another county in which a tragedy was narrowly averted was Monroe. In the autumn of 1914 a saloonkeeper, who had been in the legislature, was defeated for reelection in a campaign which had been secretly organized and openly launched only the day before the election. This saloonkeeper legislator lived at Canadensis. Rev. Robert K. Stansfield, the Moravian minister, and the Rev. Samuel McAdam, of the Methodist church in that village, were among the leaders whose heroic work at the polls had resulted in the victory for the independent temperance candidate. In the following Spring they waged war in license court against the man whom they had defeated for office at the previous election. Much ill feeling resulted from

the woman's head, and put the offering of memorial in her hand, as the priest shall command her: and she shall drink the bitter water that causeth the curse:

And the priest shall charge her by the oath, and say to the woman, If thou hast been with thee, and if thou hast not given seal to any man, nor sworn with another instead of thy husband, then shall thou be free from this bitter water that is in the curse:

But if thou hast sworn to be to another instead of thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and have lain with this man, or with that man, then shall the curse be heavy upon thee, and thy belly shall swell.

Then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, The LORD make thee to curse, and thy belly to swell, and thou shalt come out of thy house, and shalt dwell with the men of the land, and thy belly shall swell.

And this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and thou shalt be bitter, and thy belly shall rot: And the woman

said, Amen, amen.

23 And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out with the bitter water:

24 And he shall cause the woman to drink the bitter water that causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter.

25 Then the priest shall take the jealousy offering out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the offering before the LORD, and offer it upon the altar:

26 And the priest shall take an handful of the offering, and shall put it upon the altar, and shall burn it, and shall say to the

her people.

And the priest shall say to the woman, The LORD be with thee, and thou shalt be free from this curse.

27 Then the priest shall say to the woman, The LORD be with thee, and thou shalt be free from this curse.

28 And when the priest shall say to the woman, The LORD be with thee, and thou shalt be free from this curse, and the priest shall say to the woman, The LORD be with thee, and thou shalt be free from this curse.

29 Then shall the woman be free from this curse, and the priest shall say to the woman, The LORD be with thee, and thou shalt be free from this curse.

CHAPTER 6

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, When a man shall separate himself unto the LORD, by a vow of a Nazarite, to se-

himself unto the LORD: then shall he separate himself from strong drink, and shall

vinegar of wine, or vine-
ing drink, neither shall he

liquor of grapes, nor eat

One, or dried.

the days of his separation

he eat nothing that is made

the vine tree, from the kernels

even to the husk.

5 All the days of the vow of his se-

paration there shall no razor

upon his head: until the day

fulfilled, in the which he sep-

himself unto the LORD, he shall

let the hair of his head grow.

6 All the days that he separateth

their attempts to close the saloons of that community. When they, with their comrades, returned home from license court they were met at the station by an angry mob, which was only thwarted in its vile purpose by the coolness of the temperance workers. The resentment toward Mr. Stansfield was especially marked. His wife was the President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and that organization was wide-awake and incessantly active. One night in mid-summer the Stansfield home was partially wrecked by an explosion of dynamite. This was the most serious of numerous offenses perpetrated by the friends of the saloon in their efforts to drive him from the community.

As the result of several vigorous campaigns in Columbia county the number of licenses was reduced from over 100 to fewer than twenty by Judge Evans. The principal towns were all made dry. The judge was defeated, however, in 1917, and the saloons came back.

Jerome Plummer, a Washington county farmer, made a bequest of thirty thousand dollars to fight the liquor traffic in that county. For many years the income was used in making remonstrance fights, but nothing was accomplished. The court was immovable in its determination to keep the county wet.

Other counties in which such contests were waged with only partial success were Cumberland, Snyder, Blair, Somerset, Clarion, Lycoming, Susquehanna, Montgomery, Franklin, Bradford, Sullivan, Clearfield, McKean, Centre, Lebanon, Potter, Delaware, and Lancaster.

The no-license campaigns were expensive and became the source of much bitterness in most communities where they were conducted. Nevertheless, they were of great value, whether the county went dry or remained wet. They put approximately 600 saloons permanently out of business. This was the direct and most apparent gain. The by-products were of even greater importance. They put the conduct of the saloonman in the limelight. Many facts were brought out which compelled local communities to recognize the real character of the traffic which they were tolerating in their midst. Politicians and business men were forced into one or the other of the two camps. Thus the lines were closely drawn between the adherents and the enemies of the traffic. Workers were discovered and developed who became valuable assets in the political fights being waged by the Anti-Saloon League in its efforts to achieve national prohibition.

XV.

WINNING NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

In the earlier years of the new century the foes of the saloon were divided in opinion as to the wisest course to be pursued in the effort to obtain national prohibition. On the one hand there were those who favored the enactment of prohibitory laws by Congress. This method was strongly advocated by party Prohibitionists. On the other hand, however, there were many to whom such a course made little appeal. They preferred a constitutional amendment. This was the plan which found most popular favor among the leaders of the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In 1911 the latter organization definitely put itself back of an amendment introduced in the national House of Representatives by Captain Richmond P. Hobson.

In the Summer of 1913 the Anti-Saloon League called for a convention to be held in Columbus in November. This proved to be the biggest thing of its kind in the history of the country. Through the greatest blizzard of a de-

cade delegates to the number of four thousand came, representing every section of the Union. Among them were leaders in business, in the church, and in politics. With marked enthusiasm that great convention decided to put the League with all its resources into a sustained nation-wide contest for a constitutional prohibitory amendment.

About one month later some two thousand business and professional men assembled in Washington and marched down Pennsylvania Avenue to the capitol. There they were joined by five hundred representatives of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and, on the steps of the capitol, in the presence of that great throng, the task of handling the resolution was committed to Captain Hobson, member of the House from Alabama, and Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas. Before the close of the day the resolution had been presented in both branches of the Congress.

In a little more than one year,—to be exact, on December 22, 1914,—the resolution came up for debate and vote in the House of Representatives. It was a notable day. The House assembled at 10 A. M. and remained in session continuously until 11:30 P. M., giving exclusive attention to this one measure. Some fifty mem-

bers participated in the debate, the time being equally divided between the two sides. Mr. Hobson was commander-in-chief of the dry forces and no general ever handled his warriors in a pitched battle with more skill than did he in directing the contest.

The big surprise of the day to the country at large was the fact that Pennsylvania turned in more votes for the Hobson resolution than any other state in the Union. Sentiment had developed with remarkable rapidity. In 1908 there was one lone congressman in the Pennsylvania delegation who was outspoken in his advocacy of national prohibition. He was Ernest F. Acheson, of Washington county. During the previous year he had introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives for a prohibition amendment.¹ Because of his anti-liquor activities the brewers became incensed and made war on him. They openly boasted that they had raised \$60,000 for this purpose. How much they were required to spend to compass his defeat and elect John K. Tener will probably never be known, but they made that primary election of 1908 in the twenty-fourth district notorious for corruption.

The brewers had a still further grievance

1. For text of resolution see Addenda.

against Mr. Acheson because of his agitation in favor of a local option law for Pennsylvania. To them his activity on this line looked more dangerous than his work in Congress.

During the year that the Hobson resolution was pending the Anti-Saloon League carried on a sustained campaign of agitation in the district of every congressman and especially where there was any doubt that he was not absolutely favorable to it. Its work was not demonstrative, but proved effective. When, after an all day debate, the roll was called, it was found that nineteen members of the Pennsylvania delegation of thirty-six had gone on record with a favorable vote. Eleven were against it and six were either absent or did not vote at all.

During the debate on the resolution four members of the Pennsylvania delegation were heard—two of them favorable and two opposed. One of those who spoke against it was Dr. Andrew J. Barchfeldt, of Pittsburgh. He was bitter in his denunciation of the Anti-Saloon League and never lost an opportunity to denounce it. He was a popular speaker, not only for the brewers, but for the German-American Alliance, and often represented them in legislative and other hearings. He was defeated for reelection in 1916.

The other speaker against the Hobson amendment was J. Hampton Moore, of Philadelphia. He deplored the enactment of legislation that would deprive Philadelphia of its \$2,000,000 revenue from rum. He was unable to see how the city could be saved from bankruptcy without it. In the fall of 1919 Mr. Moore was elected Mayor and, judged by his campaign speeches, he did not doubt his ability to handle the affairs of the city to the satisfaction of the people in spite of the fact that liquor revenue would be represented by a cipher.

General Willis J. Hulings, of Oil City, spoke in favor of the resolution. It will be recalled that he was the leader of the prohibition forces in the Legislature of 1885.

The second Pennsylvanian to advocate the amendment was M. Clyde Kelly, of Braddock. Mr. Kelly had been the most outstanding prohibition advocate that the state ever sent to the national Congress. He was a member of the legislature in 1911, where he had a stormy career, but made an enviable record. Although not yet twenty-nine years of age, in 1912 he went after the place in Congress then held by Hon. John Dalzell, one of the most noted members of that body. In a spectacular campaign, in which prohibition was one of the big issues, he was

elected. He was defeated in 1914, but came back in 1916 and has held the position since that time.

His remarks on the Hobson amendment, although brief, so enthused the spectators that they gave him loud applause, whereupon the Speaker of the House requested the galleries to refrain from further demonstration. Upon many subsequent occasions Congress has heard Mr. Kelly on various phases of the same subject. He has been a favorite orator at temperance conventions and has spoken in all the larger cities of the state, appearing frequently under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League.

The Hobson resolution received 197 favorable votes to 189 against it. In order to submit a constitutional amendment two-thirds of all the votes cast must be in the affirmative. No one understanding the conditions in the Congress thought for a moment that the two-thirds vote could be secured in 1914. If the prohibitionists could obtain a bare majority they felt they would thereby achieve a great forward step. The defeat of the Hobson amendment was, therefore, the signal for advance and a formidable assault upon the enemy at every point in the line of battle.

The next time the prohibition proposal came before Congress it appeared in the Senate, in-

troduced by Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas. The country had become thoroughly aroused to the necessity of putting the army, then training for the war against Germany, on a total abstinence basis. Consequently Congress had enacted laws forbidding the sale of liquor to men in uniform and prohibiting its sale in or near the great training camps. Legislation was also enacted to prevent the waste of food stuffs in the manufacture of whisky and beer. All of this tended to create an increased sentiment for the amendment.

The committee of the Senate in charge of the Sheppard Amendment gave it favorable recommendation, and the sponsor called it up for debate the last week of July, 1917. On the first day of August it was adopted by a vote of sixty-five to twenty. Senator Knox voted for it and Senator Penrose against it. The latter, also, engaged in the debate in an effort to defeat it. Having received the necessary two-thirds majority it was sent to the House, where final action was taken December 17th. It was fully understood by both sides that the contest in the House would be very close. Consequently a nation-wide campaign for additional votes was carried on by both the liquor interests and the prohibition forces from the time it passed the

Senate until the roll call in the House. The Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union both held their annual conventions in Washington the week preceeding the action in the House. Large delegations attended the conventions and especially from congressional districts where the vote of the members was in doubt.

The Pennsylvania delegation had been considerably changed since the vote was taken in 1914. Three of the four members-at-large had cast their votes for the Hobson resolution. The dry forces had lost all of these in the 1914 campaign. It was noteworthy, however, that for the first time the prohibitionists found two Philadelphia members lined up with them—Peter E. Costello and George P. Darrow. The state delegation tied, standing eighteen to eighteen.

In this second great struggle in the House of Representatives the prohibition forces were led by E. Yates Webb, of North Carolina, and his management was without flaw. The liquor interests committed their fate that day to the leadership of George S. Graham, of Philadelphia. They never will be able to attribute their defeat to lack of generalship, for they had secured the services of a man than whom there

was no abler lawyer nor more skilled parliamentarian in the House.

The roll was called at five o'clock, after an all-day debate, and it proved that the enemies of rum had secured the necessary two-thirds for the submission of the amendment, the vote being 282 to 128. Thus was ended the first and most difficult phase of an age-long war against the country's most blatant tyrant and oppressor. The lawmakers realized the significance of their own action. The victors stood and applauded with great vigor the thing they had just done, a scene rarely witnessed in such a body. Posterity will continue the applause.

The Sheppard resolution was immediately submitted to the states. Mississippi was the first to ratify. Ratification became the big issue in the Pennsylvania campaign of 1918. Both sides realized that it was to be a finish fight. Both sides realized, also, that Pennsylvania's action would be determined in large measure by the attitude of the new Governor, whoever he might be.

The first candidate to announce for the Republican nomination was William C. Sproul, of Chester, for twenty-two years a member of the state Senate. So far as his senatorial record was concerned Mr. Sproul was in such a posi-

tion that he could turn to either side without embarrassment. In other words, he had never strongly committed himself by word or deed to either side, and in his local campaign had been supported by both the wet and dry elements.

Shortly after the announcement of Mr. Sproul came the announcement of J. Denny O'Neil, of McKeesport, State Highway Commissioner. Mr. O'Neil, who was a merchant and a banker, had been prominent in state and county politics for many years and since 1911 had been an outspoken foe of the liquor traffic. His uncompromising opposition was known to every liquor dealer in the state. He had delivered over 500 addresses on the subject and had spoken for the cause in nearly every county, being a popular speaker at banquets, club meetings and in churches.

In making his announcement O'Neil declared himself most emphatically in favor of ratification and made it perfectly plain that on this issue he would fight for the nomination. The response of the people was instantaneous and was not misunderstood by the shrewd politicians. The supporters of Senator Sproul became convinced that his nomination was doubtful unless he took a positive favorable stand. Consequently when he declared his platform in

a speech at Swarthmore, among other things, he said: "I favor the amendment and I believe it to be my patriotic duty to aid in securing ratification by our state. It will be a blessing when this question is at last removed from our politics." From that day forward his campaign developed rapidly and he secured the nomination.

Judge Eugene Bonniwell, of Philadelphia, a pronounced enemy of prohibition, secured by a narrow margin the Democratic nomination. He made his campaign on a wet platform and openly bid for the support of the brewers and saloon-keepers. His candidacy was repudiated by the best elements of his own party, with the result that he was overwhelmingly defeated, the count standing two to one in favor of Sproul.

Upon the assembling of the legislature in January, 1919, the Sheppard resolution was the first instrument dropped into the legislative mill. It appeared in the House, where it was sponsored by John W. Vickerman. It passed that body on February 4 by a vote of 110 to ninety-three. Its course in the Senate was skillfully guided by the leader of the dry forces in that body, Senator Plymouth W. Snyder. Final action in the Senate was taken February 25th, the vote being twenty-nine to sixteen. Thus

Pennsylvania became the forty-fifth state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment.

Governor Sproul made good to the letter his platform pledge and gave entire satisfaction to the advocates of prohibition. He put himself so squarely back of the ratification resolution, that when the brewers induced the legislature to pass a bad law enforcement measure he promptly vetoed it.

On the other hand, Denny O'Neil, while failing to secure the nomination, is entitled to the fullest measure of gratitude on the part of the commonwealth for the prompt and vigorous manner in which he injected the prohibition issue into the campaign. In a very clever, but good natured manner, he literally obliged his opponent to abandon the latter's well beaten path of neutrality and either ride behind the brewer's big horses or climb on the water wagon. The senator was a wise man. He chose the water wagon. It is simply one of those cases where the defeated candidate renders the larger and more valuable service on behalf of a great cause, which triumphs as he goes down to defeat.

XVI.

THE MORAL SUASIONISTS.

Time never was in Pennsylvania when thoughtful men had to be awakened to the terrors of strong drink. Their own eyes told them all they needed to know. And they had learned that on every important page of civil and religious history there were foul stains left by the trail of the rum dragon. But for a century and a half their attitude has been one of helplessness in the face of a tyrannical and death-dealing foe. They saw no remedy and were, therefore, tolerant.

However, about 1830 the public conscience began to assume a new attitude on the whole question. Naturally the pulpit became the leader. Attacks were launched against the old fatalistic idea that the curse had always rested on the race and, therefore, could never be removed. Dr. Albert Barnes, then in the noonday of his power in Philadelphia, set an example in his preaching which men of lesser influence were quick to follow. Multitudes began to realize the importance of total abstinence, not only for

themselves, but as a practice to be advocated and established everywhere.

Earnest men began the long search for the remedy that would conquer the disease and wipe out the possibility of its recurrence. There was much experimentation. An occasional individual had a vision of things that might be done, but lacked the element of leadership to translate his vision into reality. Numerous organizations, embodying various features, were brought into being and started on a career. Most of them died long before the hot sun of opposition and persecution had any chance to reach them. A few, however, lived for a time and accomplished much good. But whether they survived or perished the outstanding lesson inculcated by each of them was the same—that there was no ultimate remedy for drunkenness, and its accompanying vices, aside from absolute prohibition of the manufacture and distribution of alcohol for beverage purposes.

Among the earliest moral suasion efforts to attain a large place in American life was the Washingtonian movement. One evening in April, 1840, six inebriates met in a tavern in Baltimore for a convivial time. Learning that a distinguished temperance lecturer was to deliver an address near by, they sent a part of

their number to hear him. The report of the committee was favorable and as a result the tippling club was reorganized and called the "Washington Society." They took the pledge and immediately became apostles of the new principle and went out to advocate total abstinence everywhere.

The Washingtonian movement created great excitement and spread throughout the country with marvelous rapidity. It is claimed that within a few years 600,000 drunkards had taken the pledge. It was estimated, however, that within a brief period three-fourths of those who had taken the pledge had fallen back to their old habits. At its inception this uprising met with considerable favor among the churches, but its hold was lost in large degree as a result of the uncouth language and conduct of many men who spoke for it. Most of them relied wholly on moral suasion and opposed legal restraint of the liquor traffic. They failed to recognize the fact that it is the business of government to afford protection to the weak and helpless. Moreover, they seem to have ignored in large degree the help of the Almighty and those Christian influences without which enduring results cannot be obtained.

In 1842 Joel Stratton, a devout Quaker living

at Worcester, Mass., made the acquaintance of a young Englishman who had settled in that city and who had been reduced to a mere sot through liquor. Stratton took advantage of the enthusiasm created by the Washingtonian movement and persuaded the young man to sign a pledge. This he soon broke, but finally got on his feet again. For forty years thereafter he was a flaming evangel of temperance, not only in America, but in his native land. No history of the great reform in Pennsylvania would be complete that did not refer to the marvelous career of John B. Gough, who found in his state not only great need but an open door of opportunity.

Gough was dramatic and highly entertaining, while at the same time intense in his zeal for the redemption of the fallen. He could make his hearers roar with laughter and then quickly move them to tears. In his youth he had aspired to the stage. Underneath a rugged exterior was a heart inspired by the most profound religious convictions. He delivered 9,600 lectures, and had in his scrap books 140,000 autograph pledges taken in his meetings. He was stricken while lecturing in the First Presbyterian church of Frankford, Philadelphia, and died two days

later. In his later years he became an ardent party Prohibitionist.

In 1874 a group of young men in Pittsburg banded themselves together under the name of the Young Men's Temperance Union. Their object was to promote total abstinence. During the winter following the Crusades they decided to hold a series of meetings and secured the services of Francis Murphy, a man whose fame as a temperance agitator was rapidly spreading abroad. Murphy's career, up until within four years, had been a sad one. Born and reared in poverty in Ireland, he came in his youth to this country. Like many another unfortunate immigrant he saw a chance for a career in the hotel business,—a hotel with a bar,—and he started out in Portland.

He sold liquor for ten years and quit only when he had himself become its slave and victim, and brought misery and shame to his family. In his extremity he was reached by an earnest Christian man and converted. He at once became a zealous preacher of Gospel temperance which had saved him and never ceased his testimony till his tongue was still in death. In the Gospel he found the drunkard's hope.

Francis Murphy in his day was marvelously successful in inducing men to take the pledge.

During that first campaign in Pittsburg 40,000 persons signed in ten weeks. This was followed by a similar meeting in Philadelphia which was promoted and backed by John Wanamaker. The blue ribbon became the badge of the "Murphyites."

This cold water apostle was richly endowed by nature with those qualities of heart and mind which made him a power on the platform. Added to all these was the fact that he never forgot the Hand that had lifted him out of the pit. And this was the Hand of Him to whom he had pointed the mind of every struggling victim of drink.

The difference between the moral suasionist and the prohibitionist was this: The moral suasionist pointed out the danger of the fire and made his fight to keep folks from playing with it. The prohibitionist pointed to the same consuming flame but demanded that it be extinguished.

XVII.

ATTACKING FROM MANY ANGLES.

The secret society as an agency for the protection of mankind against the temptations of alcohol came into favor at an early date. The Washingtonian movement was more or less of a disappointment, owing to the lack of permanency in its work. A group of sixteen earnest teetotalers in New York City, who shared this feeling, came together September 29, 1842, and after an evening of deliberation organized Division One of the Sons of Temperance. It was not only a total abstinence movement, but contained certain elements of secret beneficial societies. Pennsylvania was not long in falling into line and many divisions were formed within a few years. Among the most active Sons of Temperance was R. M. Foust, a Philadelphia educator. Seeing the need of special work among boys and girls, he was instrumental in starting, in 1846, the juvenile branch, called the Cadets of Temperance.

While the Sons of Temperance enrolled a large following in Pennsylvania, they never se-

cured the influence and standing attained by the Independent Order of Good Templars. The latter took broad ground with reference to drink. They stood for total abstinence and in opposition to all forms of license. They sought to obtain a healthy public opinion favorable to the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. They offered no beneficial features, but put all the emphasis on the promotion of sobriety.

The order had its origin in New York, in 1851, and soon became well established in most sections of this commonwealth. Its influence has spread to many lands and today it has a world membership of over 600,000 total abstainers. Pennsylvania had the honor of furnishing one of the most useful men ever identified with the order, in the person of Simeon B. Chase,¹ who was born in Susquehanna county in 1828. After graduating from Hamilton College he was admitted to the bar and before he was thirty years of age was elected to the state legislature, where he served three terms. During one of the sessions he presided most of the time, owing to the illness of the Speaker. In 1868 he gave up his law practice and devoted all his time thereafter

1. Blackman, History of Susquehanna County.

to the work of the Good Templars. Assisted by his wife, he was the author of a large part of the ritual of the order, which has been translated into a dozen different languages. He also wrote extensively on various phases of the whole problem. Not least among his achievements was the establishment of the lyceum lecture system, which was so popular among the Good Templars fifty years ago and which has been developed and made one of the leading factors in the success of the Anti-Saloon League.

Simeon Chase was an aggressive and earnest friend of every effort looking to the overthrow of the liquor traffic. Becoming a party Prohibitionist, he presided over its national convention in 1872, and in the same year was the party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. He was for fifty years an elder in the Presbyterian church. His wife was Fanny DuBois Chase, the first president of the Pennsylvania Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

One by one the various religious bodies began to appoint committees in their national, state and local meetings to consider and report a declaration of principles. Later on some of these developed into organizations with salaried workers and permanent headquarters. In this

line of effort the Presbyterian Church became the pioneer and established such a committee in 1881, putting in charge of it Rev. W. Y. Brown. His office, first opened in Philadelphia, was within a few years transferred to Pittsburg. Dr. John F. Hill then became its head. He was joined in the work in 1904 by Prof. Charles Scanlon, who shortly afterwards became general secretary. Under Dr. Scanlon's aggressive administration the organization has become one of the recognized boards of the church and has gained large influence within the denomination. Its activities have been of an educational and agitational character.

A similar board, with salaried workers, was authorized by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1912. Its office is in Washington, D. C., and its secretary is Dr. Clarence True Wilson. However, only a small percentage of the money contributed to the temperance cause by individual churches of these two denominations goes through denominational channels. The bulk of their support is paid to the Anti-Saloon League, where they coöperate with other denominations, using one common agency through which to wage war for a sober nation. The Episcopal church has also a salaried secretary, Dr. James Empringham, of New York.

Protestantism has not had a monopoly on temperance propaganda. Organized in 1872, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union has filled a large place among the communicants of that faith. It has been especially effective in its efforts among boys and girls. Two of its national leaders are Pittsburghers—Father J. G. Beane and Bishop Canevin. By all odds, however, the most noted and most effective Catholic temperance and prohibition advocate in the state is Father J. J. Curran, of Wilkes-Barre.

Father Curran put on the harness in the Father Matthew Society nearly a half century ago. His activity has continued with increasing zeal to the present hour. He is vice-president of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in which body he is deservedly popular. He recently presided over a session of one of its conventions where he spoke from a Methodist pulpit and introduced a Methodist bishop. In 1915 he was instrumental in organizing the Catholic Prohibition Association and was its first president.

Billy Sunday and other evangelists of lesser fame who have conducted tabernacle campaigns in various localities have gone after the drink devil in their own peculiar way and have helped to hasten his exit. In these meetings many a slave to appetite has been redeemed and has

learned to stand on his feet and sing lustily: "The Brewer's Big Horses Can't Run Over Me." This was not the only anti-liquor song which gained popularity in the state. In 1911 Prof. J. G. Dailey, of Philadelphia, brought out his "A Saloonless Nation in 1920." It was much used in Sunday schools and Christian Endeavor meetings. At an earlier date the songs of Rev. W. A. Williams, a Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia, were frequently heard, especially that one entitled "Down in the Licensed Saloon."

Back in the 80's a prohibition movement was launched among the students at Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. How extensive its work was we do not know. Later on there came into existence in the Middle West the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association. Its aim was to reach American college students and organize them for systematic study of the liquor problem, and prepare them for active service when their school days should be over. This organization first took root in Pennsylvania at Allegheny College, Meadville. Other colleges were soon organized and the movement has had more or less development in twenty-eight of the state's universities and colleges. Since 1902 intercollegiate oratorical contests have been held

annually. Three of these were won by one man, Mr. S. Frank Snyder, who represented Gettysburg. Miss Mary C. Thompson, representing Pitt, was the victor in 1918,—the only woman to win a prize. Pittsburg and Susquehanna each carried off the honor twice. The other colleges which have been most active are Albright, Dickinson, Grove City, Juniata, Lebanon Valley, State College and Westminster. Among the capable and consecrated leaders of local communities during recent years it has been found that many had received their training and inspiration in the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

In developing the public sentiment which finally overthrew the liquor traffic the Grange was an important factor. As a class the farmers were among the first to make war on the saloon and at the ballot box enter their protest against its political domination. The Master of the State Grange during the most intensive local option and prohibition campaigns was William T. Creasy. He served Columbia county in the state House of Representatives from 1894 to 1910, being familiarly known as "Farmer" Creasy. He was a Lutheran layman and was honored throughout the state for his rugged honesty and his fearless defense of every right-

eous cause. Mr. Creasy was relentless in his opposition to the liquor traffic and the organization loyally followed his leadership. When he retired from the office of master he was succeeded by a young man possessing the same high order of ability and controlled by the same convictions on this question—Mr. John A. McSparran.

The Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association has a highly creditable record with reference to its activities on behalf of temperance and prohibition. In its state, county and local conventions the subject has always been accorded liberal space in making programs. Its secretary, Mr. W. G. Landes, and his associates have been systematic and untiring in their efforts to impress upon the Sunday School workers the supreme importance of doing their full part in securing the abolition of the saloon. Not only has temperance as a subject been taught in the classes, but the necessity of right voting and aggressive political action has been constantly laid upon the consciences of adult Bible class men. In this way contributions of incalculable value have been made in compassing the defeat of unworthy office seekers, as well as in constraining unfriendly lawmakers to support righteous legislation.

XVIII.

THE PARTY METHOD.

The arrival, sojourn and departure of political parties forms one of the most fascinating lines of study in American history. Hundreds of them have been born. Few have ever come to place of power and influence. Under average conditions the voters divide themselves into two groups and give their support to one of two parties. These consist of the conservatives and radicals. There are the "ins" and the "outs." It matters little by what name they are called.

To date we have had twenty-seven presidents. During that time only four parties have been represented in the White House. Washington, John Adams and John Quincy Adams were Federalists. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, Cleveland and Wilson were Democrats. Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, and Fillmore were Whigs. Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft belonged to the Republican party.

Parties which were never able to gain political power have had a brief existence. There

has been, however, at least one notable exception to this rule. For half a century the Prohibitionists have had a ticket in the field at every presidential election, and in Pennsylvania at every gubernatorial election. Moreover, the party name and the names of its candidates have appeared on the ballots in county and municipal elections as regularly as those elections have been held. Yet in half a century it never received an electoral vote and never even as much as elected a member to Congress on its own ticket alone. Nevertheless the party has lived.

It survived because it stood for a specific principle which refused to be conquered. When America's multiplied millions of voters marched to the polls on election day and received their ballots there was placed before their eyes the word "Prohibition." To them it was the name of an insignificant political party which would poll the votes of possibly a few men in each precinct. Most of these men were regarded as radicals. Nevertheless the thoughtful voter recognized in that word the persistence of an idea.

Someone asks if the party ever accomplished anything, as if achievement in politics consisted only in holding office and gaining the spoils thereof. The Eighteenth Amendment was adopted because the American people had been

educated in that direction, and one of the greatest educational factors was the Prohibition party. The course of events has demonstrated that ultimate victory was not to come by the partisan method. Nevertheless, of all the factors contributing to the final result not the least by any means was that group of men who made up this small but effective body of political protestants.

The party prohibitionist, like John the Baptist, was a forerunner. He was an idealist. He saw the victory afar and attempted to bring it nigh by the party route. The course of events has proven that his vision of the goal was clear, but that he was mistaken when he declared that the road he traveled was the only course by which that goal could be reached.

Contrary to the general understanding of the matter the Prohibition party was not a concern with only one idea. The suppression of the rum traffic was its predominant motive, but was not the only plank in its platform. Among political parties it was a pioneer in advocating many reforms which have already been adopted. It was the first party to declare for direct election of senators, woman's suffrage, income tax, parcels post and civil service reform. Its leaders were not "single track" men and women. They had

broad vision but the task which loomed supreme and urgent before their eyes was the overthrow of the organized liquor traffic.

The third party developed many of the ablest speakers and workers for temperance reform that the country has ever had. The fact that so many of them left it and became allied with the Anti-Saloon League in its later days is no reflection on the party nor the place which it had in the great program.

The sons of Pennsylvania have had a prominent and honored place in the history of the Prohibition party. Foremost among them was James Black. A native of Union county, he became in early life a resident of Lancaster, where his great work for the temperance cause was wrought. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three and before he was thirty was one of the foremost anti-liquor agitators in the state. The Republican party sent him as a delegate to the national convention in 1856.

Mr. Black was one of the first men of the country to advocate partisan political action for the promotion of the prohibition cause and was prominent in launching the party in Chicago in 1869, having been one of the five men who issued the call for the convention. He was the permanent chairman. When the party convention of

1872 was held at Columbus, it was presided over by another Pennsylvanian, Simeon B. Chase, of Susquehanna county, and Mr. Black was made its first nominee for the presidency. He continued active for the cause until the time of his death in 1893. He was one of the promoters of the National Temperance Society and accumulated what was at the time of his death possibly the largest single collection of books in America on alcohol and the efforts to suppress it. This library he bequeathed to the National Temperance Society. It is now in the New York City Public Library.

Pennsylvania furnished one other candidate of the party for the presidency in the person of Silas C. Swallow, who carried the colors in 1904. Dr. Swallow had twice before been the candidate for the governorship. In 1897 he precipitated a bitter fight against the thieves who were looting the Capitol at Harrisburg. As a result he was dragged into court and prosecuted for slander, but he maintained his case with such ability and exposed such a rotten condition of affairs in the State House that he attracted attention throughout the commonwealth. In his candidacy for the governorship in 1898 he polled 132,000 votes and carried eleven counties.

Dr. Swallow was a Methodist preacher and an

editor. He wielded a sharp pen and seemed always at home in a scrap. Like other men of his type he made friends who stuck closer than a brother, while his enemies regarded him with extreme hatred.

Among the noted men of the state who gave their adherence to the Prohibition party none could lay claim to greater talents than Charles S. Wolfe, of Union county. As a member of the legislature in the "70's" he had waged many battles against the liquor forces. He was a brilliant lawyer, a convincing speaker and a man of high ideals, to which he was thoroughly consecrated. In obedience to his convictions on this question he left the Republican party and identified himself with the Prohibitionists. He was their candidate for Governor in 1886.

Among the men who became nationally prominent in the councils of the party was A. A. Stevens, of Tyrone. He was a keen lawyer and a skilfull debater. He served on the national executive committee for many years.

The Prohibitionists were intense agitators and relied in large measure on the press for promulgating their ideas. They established numerous publications within the state, most of which had a brief existence and none of which attained a very wide-spread influence. Yet on

this special line the party frequently developed writers who possessed ability of an exceptionally high order. Its best known and ablest publicist has been W. P. F. Ferguson, of Franklin. He came to that city in 1911 to edit a paper already established, the *Venango Vindicator*. His previous work had been in the West. He had always been an uncompromising third party man. As a writer on various phases of the question—especially the economic and sociological—he ranks with the best of the country.

In an Ohio town, in 1865, an Irish boy of sixteen was elected president of a temperance society and before that body made his first speech. He has been at the same business, using the same theme incessantly, to this day. As a result, Michael J. Fanning holds a record unsurpassed for the number of times and in the number of places he has spoken on this subject.

He has labored in every state of the Union. Pennsylvania, however, has been his chief battle ground for forty years, and here he has resided since 1905. In the amendment campaign of 1889 he delivered more addresses and probably reached more people than any other single speaker. He was identified with the Anti-Saloon League in its earlier days and served as superintendent of two different states. He has

done much work, also, for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, but his chief labors have been with the Prohibition party.

In political as well as amendment campaigns Fanning took largely to the store box. With his Irish wit, his fund of stories and his real message he was perfectly at home in front of a street crowd. In a day's work he took care of many such meetings. In the Michigan campaign in 1916 he delivered 185 addresses in sixty days. Always fond of the newspaper game he was a colleague of the then, youthful "Pussy-foot" Johnson on the old *Voice* thirty years ago. Although past three score and ten he still wields a masterly pen and is on the staff of the *North American*, for which he writes special articles. On Sundays he speaks under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League.

To have raised a standard of righteousness and carried it aloft through fifty years of stress and storm without political or financial returns; and then to see the nation rally to that standard—this is the reward of the Prohibitionists—the most satisfying recompense that the heart of a patriot could crave—food fit for the appetite of ministering angels.

XIX.

THE WHITE RIBBONERS.

Soon after Frances E. Willard took up her work as the first corresponding secretary of the newly organized Woman's Christian Temperance Union, she visited Philadelphia for a conference with Bishop Matthew Simpson. She sought an expression from him on the possibilities of the new movement. But especially did she want his counsel relative to the wisdom of a woman seeking a field of usefulness and service on the public platform. What advice he gave her is not recorded, but he sent her to confer with Dr. Harriet S. French, one of Philadelphia's pioneer women in the medical profession and a leader in the local organization. The next day after their first interview she accompanied Miss Willard to address a meeting at Norristown.

Late in the afternoon, as they journeyed to fill this engagement, they encountered a severe storm. The wind was a veritable gale, the rain a downpour. There seemed small hope for an audience that night. But as they alighted from

the car the sky was clear and a beautiful rainbow spanned the heavens.

“Look, Miss Willard,” said the doctor to her companion, “this day is but a symbol of what your life is to be—storms, disappointments, opposition, but in the end, victory and a beautiful rainbow.”

It was a prophetic message. It proved true in the life of the greatest of all White Ribboners. It has been true of the organization itself, for it had its very beginning in a mighty upheaval the story of which is most fascinating. One night, near the end of the year 1873, Dr. Dio Lewis, a noted educator, lectured in the town of Hillsboro, Ohio. In a touching manner he told of the heroic struggles of his mother in her battle with liquor during his boyhood days. In her desperate efforts to redeem the father of her children who had fallen victim to his appetite for strong drink, she took with her some devout women and visited the saloonkeeper who was guilty of selling the poison to her loved one. They prayed with and for him and exhorted him to give up his vile business. Their effort was successful. As the lecturer finished relating the incident he invited any who were willing to follow her example to rise. Almost all his audience stood.

The next morning seventy women assembled at the Presbyterian church. Mrs. Eliza J. Thompson, daughter of a former governor and mother of eight children, was by common consent made the leader of the band, although she had not heard the lecture on the previous night. After a brief season of prayer, they filed solemnly out of the church, two by two, and started for the saloons and whisky drug stores.

This was the genesis of the Woman's Crusade. Its initial momentum carried it with the speed of the winds. Wives and mothers in many sections of the country, defenders of their homes and kindred, heard the battle cry and rallied for the death grapple with the rum demon.

Pittsburgh enthusiasts promptly launched an aggressive campaign and that city soon witnessed many exciting and inspiring scenes. A band of women would appear in front of a saloon and request the privilege of holding a prayer meeting inside. In rare instances it would be granted. Generally, however, it was refused, in which case the crusaders would arrange themselves along the curb in front of the saloon door. There they sang gospel hymns and then knelt in the streets or on the curb to pray. Wherever this happened mobs of men

soon congregated. Sometimes they were reverent, but usually boisterous. The saloonmen resorted to every possible scheme to discourage the workers. They frequently turned on the hose and drenched the women. Or they splashed buckets of beer over them. Sometimes they rolled out empty whisky barrels and pounded upon them, making a deafening noise. The crusaders were cursed and tormented. Nevertheless, they seemed never to become discouraged and no amount of abuse could swerve them from their holy purpose.

Dr. William Hunter has left an account of a mass meeting he attended at the Smithfield Street Methodist Episcopal church, familiarly known as "Brimstone Corner." After the meeting had been in progress for some time a group of women started out to "carry on" at some of the neighboring saloons. They launched their first attack on Keller, who kept a place next door to the church. Arranging themselves along the street they sang and prayed. The proprietor and his son rushed out and began to yell, ordering the women to depart. They gave no heed to this demand. He thereupon took pencil and paper and ordered them to give him their names. This they refused to do. They continued to sing and pray until the crowd

became reverent and the saloonman withdrew behind his screens. The crusaders then returned to the meeting for more songs and speeches.

Effort was made repeatedly by the city officials, who were in full sympathy with the saloonmen, to stop the women by threats. This availing nothing, they tried arresting them. At one time thirty-three women, who were crusading under the leadership of Mrs. A. W. Black, were apprehended and marched off to the police station where they were locked up for over an hour, when the Mayor ordered their release under a small forfeit. While in prison on that day one of their number, Mrs. Margaret J. Youngson, led them in prayer. The acting mayor, before whom they were to be tried, was a notoriously bad character and was subsequently sentenced to seven years imprisonment for a crime which he had committed. Unwilling to risk their case in his hands the band appealed to the court.

At the appointed hour during the following week two hundred women, including the accused, filed through crowded streets to the temple of justice where they appeared before Judges Stowe, Sterrett and Collier. The court, having heard the testimony, held that there was no law

against crusading or praying on the streets. The accused were released and the city ordered to refund all fines, forfeits and costs collected in this and previous cases. That ended the efforts of the liquor crowd to hinder the work by such methods.

This movement developed some force in Philadelphia and in several smaller cities, but nowhere did it become so aggressive and spectacular as in Pittsburgh. It was a religious revival. It was the cry of anguish from the mother-heart appealing to her God for deliverance from an awful curse when her appeal to man had fallen on deaf ears. She was fighting a desperate battle to save her own flesh and blood from the greatest of all destroyers. In her flaming passion for the salvation of her offspring she defied public opinion, ignored the cruel mockeries of the poison squad, pinned her faith to the promises of the Word and challenged the admiration of the world.

A revival is in vain if not followed by the construction of machinery to conserve its fruits and perpetuate its influence. So held the leaders of the crusade and the thought ripened quickly into action.

During the Summer of 1874, in connection with a Sunday School assembly at Chautauqua,

New York, a number of women, many of them former crusaders, conferred together and issued a call for a national convention. The chairman of the committee on organization appointed at that time was Mrs. Sarah H. Gause, wife of a Philadelphia physician, and a woman of intense evangelistic zeal.

The convention was held in Cleveland, and November 20, 1874, became the natal day of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Sixteen states were represented by over two hundred delegates. Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, of Philadelphia, was chosen the first president and Miss Frances E. Willard, of Chicago, the corresponding secretary. This arrangement continued for five years, when Miss Willard was elected president and remained in that capacity until taken to her reward in 1898.

The Pennsylvania branch of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized in Philadelphia, in March, 1875. Its first president was Mrs. Fanny DuBois Chase, of Susquehanna county. She was the wife of Hon. Simeon B. Chase, whose work for the cause is referred to elsewhere in this volume.¹ While the convention was in session the legislature was in the act of repealing the county option law. It was re-

1. See Chapter XVII.

solved, therefore, to send a delegation immediately to Harrisburg, led by Mrs. Chase and Mrs. Wittenmyer, to call upon the governor and the legislature and enter protest against the infamous action which they were evidently about to take. Governor Hartranft greeted this delegation cordially and gave them a gracious hearing. He grew a little nervous, however, as these mothers drove home their plea for the protection of their sons.

The governor assured the women that when this bill came to him for his signature he would give it careful consideration. Due to their lack of experience they left his presence satisfied that if it got by the legislature he would veto it. In this they were disappointed, but they had made an appeal which commanded respect. And they learned that in political life not all blooming prospects bring forth desired fruit in harvest.

Mrs. Chase continued as head of the Union through its pioneer days. In 1879 she was succeeded by Mrs. A. C. Law, of Philadelphia, who served only one year, after which Mrs. Chase served an additional year. Mrs. Frances L. Swift, of Allegheny, was elected in 1881 and served until 1889, when she was succeeded by Mrs. Mary H. Jones, of Philadelphia, who

served three years. Her successor was Mrs. Anna M. Hammer, of Philadelphia, who held the office until the election of Mrs. Rebecca B. Chambers, of West Grove, in 1897. The next change came in 1907, when Mrs. Ella M. George, of Beaver Falls, was chosen president. She has served continuously to the present time.

This is the list of consecrated women who have been honored by their comrades with election to the presidency of the organization. Upon Mrs. Chase devolved the responsibility of laying broad and sure foundations. One has only to make a brief survey of the succeeding years and the achievements which they have brought to be convinced that her selection for this purpose not only showed wisdom on the part of those who named her, but was providential. Mrs. Swift was the wife of a well known Presbyterian pastor. The greatest achievement of all the years came in her administration, when the legislature of 1885 provided for instruction in scientific temperance.

In 1889 the Union, not only in this state but everywhere, faced the most serious crisis of its history. Its constitution said nothing about partisan politics or religious beliefs. There was a feeling, however, on the part of some that Miss Willard and other national leaders were mani-

festing too much sympathy for the Prohibition party and they expressed fear that that party might capture the control of the Union. There was introduced, therefore, at the convention in Philadelphia, in 1889, an amendment inserting the words "non-partisan" and "non-sectarian."

The master mind in the crisis proved to be that of Mrs. Mary H. Jones, who had been active for a decade, first as recording secretary and afterward as vice-president. The supporters of the old constitution won out under her leadership, but the storm drove a small minority from the fold. Among them was the retiring president, Mrs. Swift. A rival organization both state and national was formed, but it has never developed any real strength or influence. Mrs. Jones proved to be the woman needed for the task assigned her during the next few years. Under her direction the *W. C. T. U. Bulletin* was established, and the work so strongly developed on all lines that when she retired from the presidency, in 1892, the organization had attained a degree of usefulness and influence never previously equaled.

Mrs. Rebecca Chambers was a very capable woman. As a child she had participated in the Crusade and never lost the inspiration of that

experience. Harmony and steady growth characterized her administration.

Since 1907 Mrs. George has given the White Ribboners able and constructive leadership. The membership is now over 47,000, being three times what it was at her first election. She was largely instrumental in securing from the legislature last year a law setting aside "Willard Day" in the public schools, for the purpose of emphasizing scientific temperance. Thus have the White Ribboners maintained a place of high honor in the front line of the army that finally beat down and conquered the strongholds of the enemy.

The history of every great movement calculated to bless humanity is interwoven with the names of those who have held the chief places of honor, but they are by no means the only persons who have been useful and influential. No history of the Pennsylvania Union would be anywhere near complete without reference to some of the other great hearts who have been a part of this conquering army.

The first treasurer was Mrs. Ellen M. Watson, of Pittsburgh. Although feeling compelled to sever her connection with the organization in the storm of 1889, she never ceased her activities until claimed by death in 1914. She was as-

sociated with several different movements and gave freely her life, her money and her time; especially in the development and distribution of helpful temperance literature. Her last public service was her attendance at the Anti-Saloon League convention at Columbus, in 1913, when she marched with the Pennsylvania delegation into the hall where the plans were laid that resulted in the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The most noted parliamentarian of this group was Mrs. Olive Pond-Amies, who was elected recording secretary in 1889, and gave eighteen years of service in that office. Her mastery of rules of procedure and her keen perception enabled her to discern quickly the dangerous shoals and steer the ship into the safe channel.

Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, evangelist and author, was a tower of strength to the Union in its early days. She, possibly more than anyone else, imparted to it the evangelistic note, in giving to the early conventions a strong spiritual impulse.

Mrs. Marjorie M. Steese had charge of legislative work during the early campaigns of the Anti-Saloon League for a local option law. Her skill and diplomacy won from even hostile legis-

lators admiration and respect for those whom she represented.

Mrs. Henrietta H. Forrest, of Allegheny, first became officially connected with the state Union as corresponding secretary in 1889. She has filled various offices, but her chief work has been the editing of the *Bulletin*, which task she performed for fifteen years. Hers has been a life of the hardest kind of work and the rarest devotion to and self-sacrifice for the cause she has loved.

One of the earliest movements within the Union was the establishment of the Loyal Temperance Legion for education and development of leadership among the young people. The outstanding worker in this department has been Mrs. Elma M. Preston. She has been permitted to see an army of boys growing to manhood to become fighters for sobriety, as a result of instructions given to them in the Legion.

In the Medal Contest Department thousands of young people have been schooled in the art of public speaking. Hundreds of medal contests have been held each year with an abundant fruitage in the creation of public sentiment and the training of workers. To Miss H. Frances Jones belongs the credit for the development and maintenance of this work. In earlier years

she was state corresponding secretary. She was also active in the Loyal Temperance Legion and gave the young folks their popular slogan: "No compromise for the Keystone State."

Philadelphia has been the home of two colored women who exerted a beneficent influence on the people of their own race in the matter of sobriety. Mrs. Frances H. Harper was a woman of culture and had great power as a public speaker. Large crowds attended her lectures and were quickened to better living by her eloquence and spiritual fervor. Dr. Caroline V. Anderson was a physician and the wife of a minister. Educated at Oberlin and Woman's Medical College, she attained high praise for the effective work she performed in many lines of endeavor. She was the leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in its activities among the colored people of the city.

In 1894 Miss Mary Louise Heiner, of Kittanning, was made head of the department of "Soldiers and Sailors," continuing in it for twenty-four years. Under her direction work was carried on which brought gladness to our sailors and soldiers in every part of the world. Comfort kits, sunshine bags, music records, literature of all descriptions, in a never-ending stream were poured out of white ribbon homes in Penn-

sylvania into the ships and army camps. Rarely did the boy know from whence came the welcome gift; but it did remind him of his own mother and it did help him to play the part of a real man. Miss Heiner devoted her life without reserve to this noble work. Three times she went abroad to study temperance methods and attend the international conventions.

The Friend's Temperance Association, in conjunction with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, has carried on a work in the Philadelphia public schools for the past ten years which has elicited high praise from the educational authorities. It is under the direction of Mrs. Clara Hoover Stilwell. Seventh and eighth grade pupils are invited to compete in essay writing for substantial prizes. The subject assigned is some phase of the alcohol problem, and literature is furnished all who desire to compete. Upon the occasion of the presentation of prizes an outside speaker is secured and the event becomes one of considerable moment.

For several years an average of over 6,300 Philadelphia boys and girls have entered these contests, representing each year about seventy-five schools. The research, the production of essays, and the events of presentation day com-

bine to produce an impression of lasting good upon the minds of the participants.

When the annual state convention of 1919 was held, the delegates mourned the loss of their vice-president, Mrs. Ada B. Parsels. For nearly a dozen years she had been the acknowledged leader among their public speakers. In all the history of the State Union there had been no woman who was her peer as a prohibition and temperance lecturer.

She traveled constantly and was mightily effective in no-license and legislative campaigns as well as in conventions. She did the hardest kind of work—traveling through all sorts of weather to reach remote communities, where higher-priced and generally less-valuable speakers never went.

Rev. Lewis Parsels, her husband, was the first preacher in Philadelphia to open his pulpit to Dr. Tope, when the latter came to establish the work of the Anti-Saloon League in the city. Ada Parsels literally wore herself out in the closing years of the war for the prohibition amendment and died while a comparatively young woman. The death of her husband, and soon afterwards of a son by accident, together with her physically exhausted condition, was a combination before which she was not able to

rally. She rendered extraordinary service to the cause—and paid the price with her life.

In recounting the deeds of these elect ladies we are led to seek the motive back of them all. We will let another explain it. When the state Union met in annual convention in Washington, Pa., in 1905, the address of welcome was delivered by Rev. James D. Moffat, D.D., President of Washington and Jefferson College, and one of the most eminent religious leaders of his generation. Among other things he said:

“Many temperance movements have started, but have been short lived. It has remained for the women of the land to form a permanent one. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union has lived long enough to live forever. It deserves to live forever. You are Christian as well as temperate and the Christian furnishes the high motive for your work.”

XX.

THE CHURCH IN ACTION.

The war to make alcohol an outlaw and write prohibition in the Constitution of the country was not won in a day. It took a century. Nor was it achieved wholly by any one agency. It required the combined effort and resources of many different factors. So-called big business played some part in the game, especially the railroads. Certain newspapers were at the front. Here and there a politician forged ahead of his generation, and contributed his bit.

But the one outstanding factor overshadowing all others in the war was the church—to be more specific, the federated Protestant churches. The one body of men upon whose shoulders above all others rested the responsibility for the abolition of drink was the Protestant ministry. The fidelity with which that responsibility was met and discharged is now a matter of history.

The preacher was usually the first man in the community to rebel against the whole system of making, selling and using rum. He could not reconcile it with the doctrines he preached and the manner of life he recommended to his hear-

ers. He might not have been the first man in his community to get into the political arena and wage war on it. But quite generally he put the idea into the head of the man who did.

The preachers were not crusaders, but they furnished the Christian inspiration that made the Crusades possible. The momentum that made the Woman's Christian Temperance Union such a power for good reached back, in the last analysis, to the man in the pulpit. Some of the Prohibition party leaders had a weakness for finding fault with ministers who did not always accept their ideas as to methods. The ideals of these prohibitionists were right, but their weakness became manifest when they either forgot, or refused to acknowledge, the real source of those ideals.

As the number of preachers who antagonized the rum traffic in all its phases steadily grew through the passing years, their zeal to achieve definite results likewise increased. Still, it required many decades to reach the point where the church was willing to attack the foe in an organized and sustained movement, putting money and men into it the same as into a missionary enterprise.

The idea of interdenominational action made its appearance almost coincident with the

launching of the Prohibition party and the birth of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, in 1873, adopted a resolution calling for a meeting in which all denominations would be represented. That meeting was held in Pittsburgh, in 1875, when the Christian Temperance Alliance was formed. Its first leader was Doctor E. E. Swift, a Presbyterian minister of Pittsburgh. It was fondly hoped that this Alliance would speedily become a mighty agency for saloon suppression. That hope was never realized. As a trail blazer it accomplished a certain amount of good, but it never marched with the tread of a conqueror.

Among the men who were studying, writing and experimenting along the line of interdenominational effort none was more active than Dr. Alpha J. Kynett, a Methodist leader, whose home was in Philadelphia. Holding a position which took him on long journeys, and at the same time being the editor of a church magazine, he had unusual opportunity not only to observe conditions, but to give expression to his ideas. He was instrumental in organizing the Union Prohibitory League in Philadelphia during the campaign of 1889. Dr. Kynett had a deep interest in the cause, and held that any

movement which might be attempted should be broad enough to include both Catholic and Protestant.

As the nineteenth century entered upon its final decade more men and women than ever were giving serious thought to the solution of the alcohol problem. The moral suasionists had done an extensive work of rescue, but drunkenness steadily increased. The godly women of the land had organized for battle, but they were virtually disarmed, not having the franchise. The partisan method had been given a fair trial. Its goal was right, but voters refused in sufficient numbers to travel the route it had selected. Those who advocated nonpartisan, interdenominational action had some potent ideas to suggest, but nothing concrete in the matter of organization or method of procedure. The temperance forces were beating about in the wilderness. They needed a leader to show them the way out, and, as always happens in the great crises of human history, God had His man ready. His name was Howard H. Russell.

This young man had grown up "out where the west begins, where the atmosphere is a little clearer," the son of an Episcopal missionary. Among the most vital matters of his preparation was his marriage to a devout woman of the

Congregational faith. From lawyer he turned preacher. He had many dreams in those days about the rum demon and how to slay him. True, he was not the only dreamer of dreams. The land was full of them. But he was different. Most of us mortals sit around and talk about our dreams till they are swallowed up in the cares and burdens of the day. But this man got busy with the dawn to make his dreams come true. Breakfast and even the appointed duties of the day must wait. In the silence of the night he had visions. With the break of day they must be made real.

This was the dreamer whose translation of his visions into actions gave to the world the Anti-Saloon League. That was in 1893. It was a plan designed to result in united and persistent action of Protestant Christianity, omnipartisan and interdenominational. It was later defined as "The church in action against the saloon." One by one the church bodies caught the vision of a victorious army and began to ally themselves with it.

Russell says God gave him the men who have furnished national leadership. But God left the appointments to Russell. There must be developed a General Grant to win the war against king alcohol, and Russell found him in a Meth-

odist parsonage, in Columbus, Ohio. His name was Purley A. Baker. A master of all legal phases of the war must be developed and Russell found his man among the students of Oberlin. His name was Wayne B. Wheeler. Victory would finally hinge on successful legislative leadership and again he found his man in a parsonage—a Lutheran parsonage—Edwin C. Dinwiddie. These and a host of state and national men who have since been enlisted have furnished the leadership for the army of conquest, “for the church in action against the saloon.”

Pennsylvania temperance folks have always been strong on forming new organizations. Most of these have died early, although some of them have accomplished considerable good in their brief career. Among the latter was the Union Prohibitory League, previously referred to. At a convention held in Harrisburg, April 4, 1893, this was merged into the Christian Temperance Alliance. Some time after the formation of the Anti-Saloon League of America the executive committee of the Alliance changed its name to the Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League and made it auxiliary to the national organization. This was June 29, 1896. The first president was Dr. B. L. Agnew, and the secretary Dr. C. M. Boswell.

Its first superintendent was Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, who divided his time between this state and the legislative work in Ohio. He took up the work in January, 1897, and served until the close of 1899. His mission here was that of a pioneer recruiting officer. He sought out the men and women who were ready to put time and money into the enterprise. Their number was not large and they were not easily found. Some who enlisted with enthusiasm soon suffered an attack of "cold feet" and dropped out. But the foundations were laid. In the early days Dr. Kynett was very active. He died while attending the annual meeting at Harrisburg, in 1899. Drs. C. M. Boswell, U. F. Swengel, E. G. Loughry, Floyd Tomkins and Geo. B. Stewart and Messrs. John M. Sayford and William C. Lilly were among the most zealous coworkers with Mr. Dinwiddie.

The second superintendent was Rev. H. A. Tucker, who served four years. Indifference prevailed and other conditions were very discouraging. But fortunately the board of trustees had on it a band of "die-no-mores." At the annual meeting in 1900, just four men and one woman, besides the superintendent, were present at the first session. Call the roll: U. F.

Swengel, John M. Sayford, E. G. Loughry, R. A. Hutchison and Mrs. M. M. Steese.

When S. Edgar Nicholson came to the superintendency, January 1, 1904, he fully understood that he was tackling about the least promising job in the entire nation. Fortunately he brought to his task clear vision and an heroic spirit. He was optimistic and tireless and suffered no illusions as to the difficulties which must be confronted.

In earlier years he had served in the Indiana legislature, where he successfully fathered an effective remonstrance law. Four years at the head of the Maryland Anti-Saloon League had given him valuable experience for his new undertaking. Being a minister in the Society of Friends gave him the ear of the Christian people of the state.

Mr. Nicholson was essentially a foundation builder. Through six years he toiled incessantly in selecting and training the working force. Coupled with this was the heavier burden of winning the sympathy of the churches and opening their doors to hear the League's message. Although no legislative victories of a positive character were won, the enemy was halted and all his succeeding efforts to pass laws which

might strengthen the brewery and the saloon were in vain.

Dr. Charles W. Carroll was elected superintendent in 1910, to succeed Mr. Nicholson when the latter was made legislative superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America. The new leader, who was a native of Pennsylvania, had originally trained for the law, but later turned to the ministry, where he attained signal success as pastor of a Cleveland Congregational church. He began League work January 1, 1908, as superintendent of the Pittsburgh district, after which he was transferred to the state office where he was an assistant for a short time.

His administration was characterized by two achievements of great value. In the first place, he worked out and put into operation a system of finance so complete and accurate that bankers have pronounced it a model of excellence. While constantly expanding the work the heavy debt which had accumulated during the strenuous efforts of earlier years was paid off. In the second place, the outcome of a contest which the superintendent waged with the railroads marked a notable forward step.

Prior to June, 1912, intoxicating liquors were sold and served on all dining cars in Pennsylvania. This was done in spite of the fact that

the railroads paid no license fees and had no authority from the courts for such action. Most of the roads claimed it was not a paying business, but that they were compelled to engage in it in order to prevent loss of business through the competition of other roads.

As public sentiment manifested a growing antagonism to the sale of liquor, everywhere there was developed increasing disgust for it on the cars. It frequently happened that sensitive women and children, to whom liquor was an offense, were compelled to eat at the same table with men who were drinking heavily and, as a consequence, were indulging in unbecoming talk and conduct.

Superintendent Carroll, after giving careful study and observation to this matter, became convinced that the time was ripe to strike a telling blow at this inexcusable custom. He first sent a letter to all the railroads calling their attention to the fact that sale under such circumstances was in open violation of the law and asking them to get together and by common consent discontinue. His appeal brought nothing more than a formal acknowledgement of his letter.

After waiting a reasonable time he decided to take up the matter individually with them. Ne-

gotiations were opened first with the Pennsylvania system. Its officials agreed to a conference with Dr. Carroll, when the whole matter was discussed. He was later notified that his request would be refused, that the decision was final and that the road would refuse to have any further negotiations with him relative to the question at issue.

To this the superintendent simply replied that he hoped the company would be fair enough to its stewards to warn them that the action of the company would inevitably result in their arrest and imprisonment. This he declared would be the final word of the Anti-Saloon League. Within five days after this letter was sent the Pennsylvania company discontinued the practice "until further notice." The other roads promptly followed suit and, without an audible protest from the traveling public, John Barleycorn was kicked out of the dining car business, never to be reinstated. A bill was introduced and an effort made in the legislature of 1913 to amend the law so as to provide for dining car licenses, but it was overwhelmingly defeated.

In April, 1913, Dr. Carroll resigned to accept a position under one of the Congregational church boards. He was succeeded by Rev. E. J. Moore, who had been for five years superintend-

ent of the Missouri Anti-Saloon League, and prior to that eight years on the force of the Ohio League. He came into the service originally out of the Methodist pastorate. In order to more fully equip himself for his task he read law and was admitted to the Ohio bar. His work in Pennsylvania covered a period of three and one-half years, when he resigned to accept the position of Associate Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America. His administration was characterized by steady growth and development of the organization. The most notable political victory was achieved when the state delegation in Congress voted nineteen to eleven in favor of the Hobson prohibition resolution.

While serving in the legislature of 1913, Dr. Charles F. Swift, of Beaver county, attracted wide attention by reason of his platform ability. For some years he had been a per diem speaker for the League. Following his service in the House, he accepted a position as field secretary in the Pittsburgh district, and later became its superintendent. In September, 1916, he was elected superintendent of the state and held that office until January, 1920, when he became a member of the lecture corps of the national League. It was during his administration that the Eighteenth Amendment passed the Con-

gress and was ratified by the Pennsylvania Legislature.

Dr. Homer W. Tope, successor of Dr. Swift, is a Lutheran minister, who has been in League service for twenty years, the last thirteen of which he has spent in the Philadelphia district. For meeting and handling the difficulties of the work in a big city, Dr. Tope has a record of achievements unsurpassed in the history of temperance reform.

Under the constitution of the Anti-Saloon League its ultimate authority is vested in the various Protestant Church bodies of the state which hold annual meetings. These consist of Synods, Conferences, Associations, Yearly Meetings, etc. Each one which endorses the League elects two persons to represent it on the state board. In this way about seventy of the trustees are constituted. These in turn are authorized to elect not over twenty members-at-large. The board meets annually and elects its own officers, including a state superintendent and a headquarters (executive) committee. In the interim of the board meetings this committee has full power to act. District superintendents and other workers are employed by the superintendent with the advice and consent of the headquarters committee. Individual churches

of the following denominations generally co-operate with the Pennsylvania League, contributing to its support, and, with possibly one or two exceptions, are represented on its board: Baptist, Church of the Brethren, Church of God, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Association, Friends, Lutheran (General Synod,) Methodist bodies, Presbyterian bodies, United Presbyterian, Reformed, United Brethren, and United Evangelical. The Episcopal church is represented on the board and a number of its congregations are contributors to the League. Several numerically small denominations use the League as their agent. The same is true of certain Lutheran churches which were of the General Council branch prior to the reunion of Lutheran bodies.

Dr. Calvin C. Hays, who has been president of the board since 1913, and President J. H. Morgan, of Dickinson college, who has served as secretary for almost twenty years, are both members of the headquarters committee. The fidelity of these men and their colleagues on that committee has been one of the movement's biggest assets. Without compensation they have given freely of their time and energies that the cause might not suffer from lack of proper advice and guidance. Special mention is due

Bishop W. M. Stanford, of Harrisburg. Through many years, including the most critical period in the League's history, he was chairman of the headquarters committee, and a counselor of keen insight and sound wisdom. He also devoted much time to platform work on behalf of the cause.

It became apparent at an early date in the development of the League work that the state should be divided into districts, each to have an office and a superintendent in charge. These district offices as constituted at present are located as follows: Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre, Erie, Philadelphia, Altoona, Harrisburg.

It is required of a district superintendent¹ that he be able to appear before any sort of an audience at any time and give a complete and satisfactory statement of the faith that is in him. In doing this two tests are applied: He must demonstrate such platform ability as will make it possible for him to return for a similar meeting one year hence. In the second place, he must procure his proportionate share of the "coin of the realm" which is needful in keeping the machinery going. He must be fully endorsed and vouched for by the authorities of his own denomination, while capable of adapting

1. See Personnel—Addenda.

himself readily to the usages and customs of all other denominations.

The most important task assigned to the district superintendent is that of conferring with the pastors of individual churches. Whether the church coöperates with the League is in most cases decided by the preacher. There are times when he desires to come into line, but is unable because of opposition on the part of some of his officials. But with rare exception the pastor is the pivotable man in bringing his church into action.

In campaign times the district superintendent is obliged to devote much time to political affairs. Ability to play politics in the highest and best sense is one of his prime essentials and if he have not this art he is sadly deficient. Frequently the selection of those who shall be candidates is influenced by his judgment. Once a campaign is under way he is tested as to his skill in organizing the forces with which he is allied.

Such are some of the qualifications of a successful district superintendent in the Anti-Saloon League. During the decade preceding the triumph of prohibition, Pennsylvania developed and maintained in this strategic position a corps of men second to none in the Union.

To their fidelity, tact and administrative ability has been due in largest measure whatever success the League has achieved!

Field secretaries have been employed from time to time as special assistants in various lines of work. In this particular office the longest term of service was rendered by Dr. William H. Gotwald. Beginning in 1898 he served without interruption for twenty years. Besides his able platform work he made many valuable contributions to the literature of the movement.

The regular force of salaried men has never been sufficient to fill by any means the pulpits which have been open for League services. Consequently the leaders began to develop a class of speakers who became known as per diem men, because they have been employed for Sabbath only and paid a small fee for addresses made on that day. It is required of these men that they have the full approval of the churches to which they belong and that they can creditably occupy the pulpits to which they are admitted. They must have a deep and absorbing interest in the cause they represent, possessing not only a comprehensive knowledge of the problem they are dealing with, but of the organization under whose auspices they are speaking.

The per diem men come from various walks in life. Among them have been secretaries of church boards, pastors on leave, lawyers, and business men. College and high school professors, however, have predominated. Some of them with splendid platform ability have given their Sabbaths almost without exception for many years, and oftentimes this has been done at great personal self-sacrifice, their only tangible reward being a small fee. Fully half the Sunday addresses delivered under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League in the last ten years have been given by men of this class.

It has been the aim of the League so far as possible to give its supporters the inspiration to be gained by hearing on this question the ablest speakers of the nation. In 1909 former Governor Hanly, of Indiana, covered the state in a series of meetings. Later came former Governor Glenn, of North Carolina, Captain Richmond P. Hobson, and former Governor Patterson, of Tennessee, all of them great favorites. Mr. Bryan has been secured on several notable occasions. Col. Dan Morgan Smith has spoken quite frequently.

For two years Sam Small, of Georgia, has been on the regular staff and has given nearly all his time to this state, having been heard in

every important community. In more recent months former Governor Willis, of Ohio, has done much valuable work in Pittsburgh and vicinity. Clinton N. Howard, a native of Pennsylvania, has for twenty years been one of the most versatile lecturers in our midst and in recent years much of his work has been done under Anti-Saloon League auspices.

The success of the Anti-Saloon League has depended on team work. The most important member of that team has been the pastor of the local church. He is the man whose decision leads on to victory or on the other hand holds back the chariot wheels. He is the individual head of each unit through which the League works. On his attitude depends the coöperation of his people. The second member of the team is the speaker who comes to represent the work and solicit funds for its support. He may be a superintendent, an editor, an organizer or a man specially employed to speak. The third member is the hearer who takes the little subscription card, fills it out and steadily pours his or her money into the exchequer, furnishing thereby the sinews of war.

If any one of these three fall down the cause halts. If League speakers had proven weak and foolish the pulpits would have been closed and

help denied. If pastors generally had barred the door against the League, then failure would have been inevitable, and the curse would have continued in full sway. But it is most gratifying to record that an average of over 3,000 pastors in the state annually coöperate and ask that their people hear the League message. Again victory would have been impossible without the sustained support of that army of consecrated men and women averaging, perhaps, thirty thousand per year in the state whose money has paid the bills and kept the machine in motion.

In return for its expenditure of time, money and effort it is eminently proper to ask what the Anti-Saloon League has done to hasten the coming of prohibition. Replying to that inquiry, we may say that its activities have been countless, but briefly stated, here are a few of the more important:

1. It has maintained at the state and national capitols a corps of thoroughly trained men whose business it has been to represent the interests of the advocates of sobriety in the halls of legislation.

2. It has kept the voters informed as to the conduct of their representatives in the legislature and the Congress on all phases of liquor legislation.

3. It has counseled with and guided local committees in their struggles to defeat unworthy, and defend deserving, public officials.

4. It has maintained a force of highly-trained, hard-working organizers and superintendents covering every section of the state and on the job three hundred sixty-five days in the year.

5. Its literature has been poured out in a never-ending stream. It has used not only its own paper, but both the church and daily press to promote the cause it has espoused.

6. Through its speakers it has brought information and inspiration every year to a quarter of a million Pennsylvania people.

7. Lastly it has held the church of Jesus Christ up to the fighting line until the church has awakened to her power as well as her privilege and has gloriously triumphed over her ancient and heartless foe, king alcohol.

Far be it from us to detract one whit from the honor due to any organization or any individual for their part in the long war to establish sobriety in this fair land. But the organized liquor interests have repeatedly attacked the Anti-Saloon League, the agent of the federated churches, and have vehemently denounced it. They call it the supreme menace to their business. We think they have not been mistaken.

XXI.

THE PRESS AND THE PROBLEM.

During the first decade of the new century the preacher in any community who never broke loose in his pulpit with a broadside against rum was a novelty. His persistent silence sometimes caused mysterious whisperings as to the contents of his cellar. More frequently his conduct was explained as being due to the presence in his congregation of someone interested commercially or politically in the traffic. With increasing fervor and determination the rank and file of the ministry kept blasting way until the walls of the modern Jericho came tumbling down.

During the same decade the newspaper that advocated prohibition was even more of a novelty than the preacher who ignored it or opposed it. He was an exceptional editor who did not shy off when the subject was broached. City editors were not so prone to ignore the subject but all too frequently they talked on the wrong side. The dailies that espoused prohibition in that decade were few in number and slow in the

motion. Moreover, with one notable exception, which will be given special consideration later on, they came from the smaller cities and towns.

The press as a whole, therefore, does not, and in fact could not, lay claim to any particular merit in pioneer promotion of this greatest of all reforms. Numerous papers of influence were right at the finish, but they did not fall into line until after an impressive array of states had adopted prohibition, and the Hobson amendment had received a majority vote in Congress.

The liquor interests long ago learned how to secure newspaper influence by purchasing advertising space. No editor could decently antagonize on his editorial page that which he was recommending in his advertising columns. There were numerous instances where those in control of the paper were not at heart sympathetic with the liquor business but at the same time were fearful of the financial consequences to their paper in case they assumed an attitude of hostility by refusing to sell space. The church and the traffic were lined up in battle array one against the other, the church with very little money available for the struggle while the opposition was heavily financed. Fur-

ther explanation of the attitude of many papers is unnecessary.

On the other hand the anti-liquor war has uncovered among editors some heroes as genuine as any who ever mustered to the field of battle. If the relation of the press to the liquor problem were fully known it would reveal men who were ready to face bankruptcy, defeat and utter annihilation of their business rather than forfeit their self respect, and for the paltry gain that was in it, sacrifice their sense of honor. We could not recite the whole story even if we knew it. But here, for example, is the case of Grant Kyler, editor of the *Ashland Daily News*.

About 1910 Kyler refused longer to accept liquor advertising. The town was exceedingly wet, having something like two score saloons. The influence of the rum traffic in business circles was simply overwhelming, but the editor dared to follow his convictions. A half dozen years later, speaking of the dry policy of the paper, he said: "A newspaper is a salesman of the goods it advertises—even more so than the clerk behind the counter. The principles of a newspaper, if it have any, should control the advertising policy as supremely as any other department of the publication. The *Ashland Daily News* is a good salesman of the merchan-

dise it advertises—and it will not sell that which it knows to be harmful and which it cannot recommend.”

Nowhere was the liquor boycott used with such deadly effect as in the newspaper world. Many an editor got visions of bankruptcy when an appeal was made to him to cast out the wet advertisements and insert in their stead prohibition editorials. Fortunately, however, there were a few editors who did this very thing and defiantly challenged the saloonmen to do their worst.

The town of Braddock furnished one of the most striking illustrations of the boycott, and the manner in which it was met is a story worth repeating. In 1903, a penniless young man, twenty years of age, landed in that town and secured a position as a reporter on the *Braddock Leader*. One year later he became its editor and proprietor. He made it a rule to accept no liquor advertising and his was among the first dailies to establish that policy.

Braddock then contained a population of twenty thousand and its drinking demands were supplied by one hundred and thirty retail and wholesale liquor establishments. When the young man barred out these dealers from his advertising columns some of them offered him

as much as ten times the regular rates, but were refused. The rumsellers thereupon organized a boycott and every merchant advertising in *The Leader* was visited by a committee and threatened with retaliation unless he discontinued. The youthful editor found himself being attacked from every side, but he was determined to go to the wall rather than be instrumental in advertising liquor of any kind.

He did not go into bankruptcy. Braddock business men believed in him and rallied to his support. Before long he took over *The Daily News*, and a few years later *The Evening Herald*. He combined them into one and has given that community a useful and successful daily paper to the present time without varying from his old time rule.

Before he was thirty years of age this knight of the quill, M. Clyde Kelly, was elected by his fellow citizens of the thirtieth district to represent them in the halls of Congress, having already served a term in the legislature.

The most influential support the prohibition movement ever had in American newspaper circles came from the *North American*, of Philadelphia. This paper was founded in early colonial times when it was known as *The Gazette*. In 1899 its fortunes were at low ebb, its circu-

lation having fallen to less than 6,000 copies daily. In that year it was purchased by Thomas B. Wanamaker, E. A. VanValkenburg and others, and started on a new career.

Mr. VanValkenburg became the editor-in-chief and the controlling spirit in determining its policy. He had strong convictions against the liquor business and from the beginning carried them out in the management of the paper. All liquor advertising was tabooed. In its news features as well as in its editorial columns the paper assumed an attitude of hostility toward the entire trade and of favor to prohibition. It was a staunch supporter of local option and of other measures calculated to bring nearer the ultimate goal. Without fear or favor it exposed the conduct of politicians friendly to the rum business and has defended lawmakers and other officials who have honestly contended against the saloon.

The most distinctive feature of the *North American* has been its double column editorials, one of which appears daily. In these the liquor traffic in its numerous phases has been accorded frequent treatment. For grasp of the subject, for vigor and clarity in handling it, few, if any writers in recent years have demonstrated ability superior to that of Hugh B. Sutherland,

whose pen is credited with the production of nearly all these deliverances. Its cartoonist, F. T. Richards, has also used his art with telling effect.

Prosperity has come to the paper. The 6,000 circulation of twenty years ago has reached a mark around 160,000. One need only contemplate these figures in order to gain some conception of the part the *North American* has played in persuading the sovereign people to decree the abolition of the traffic in alcoholic liquors.

Those who made and sold liquor established within the state a number of trade journals devoted exclusively to their business. Twenty years ago there was founded in Pittsburgh the *National Liquor Dealers Journal*, which became the spokesman for the retailers. It is amusing to note that in recent months it has been changed to the *National Liberty Journal*. But inside the cover will be found the same spirit that has always ruled it. For several years the brewers had a pretentious paper in Philadelphia, called the *Beverage Trade News*, edited by George Muller. This was supplanted by the *National Herald*, the organ of the wholesale dealers, its editor being Edward T. Fleming.

In the early days of temperance reform repeated efforts were made to establish papers

devoted largely to anti-liquor propaganda. The most prolific field for such enterprises, which we have been able to discover, was Chester county. As early as 1831 Simeon Siegfried commenced the publication in West Chester of the *Temperance Advocate*. It continued for four years, when it was merged into a paper published in Philadelphia, called the *Philanthropist*. For a short time, in 1839, Cyrus P. Painter published in the same town a paper called *The Bee*. The next enterprise of this kind was the *Crystal Fountain*, published also in West Chester. It lasted one year. Its editor was Caleb N. Thornbury. A weekly paper called the *Day Spring* was published in New London for six months in 1853. Its editor was Edward E. Ovis.

Before the Civil War the temperance cause had an ardent and outspoken friend in the *Lancaster Express*. Its publishers were John H. Pearsol and J. W. M. Geist. It was politically an Independent Republican paper. It rendered yeoman service in the campaign of 1854. Again in the local option contests of the 70's, as well as in the amendment campaign of 1889, the *Express* was right and was a factor of great value in defense of sobriety.

The Prohibition party workers relied for their publicity largely on *The Voice*, of New

York, the one outstanding exponent of that political faith. Nevertheless, efforts were made from time to time to establish local papers in Pennsylvania. *The People* was started at Scranton in 1887. It was later transferred to Milton and then to Franklin. For over twenty years, beginning in 1893, a publication known as *The People's Tribune* was edited at Uniontown and had considerable local influence. Its principal backer was H. L. Robinson. Elisha Kent Kane, one of the party leaders in McKean county, established *The Leader* at Kane, in 1885, and its publication was continued until within recent years. The most successful third party newspaper venture in the state was in Franklin, where the *Daily Herald* was maintained for many years. Its weekly edition was the *Vindicator*. It is now called the *News-Herald*, and its editor is W. P. F. Ferguson.

In 1909 the Board of Trustees of the Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League authorized the employment of an editor whose task it should be to develop a literature for that organization in the state. Harry M. Chalfant was chosen for that task. Prior to the time when he entered the work the state superintendents had spoken to their constituency through a monthly paper called the *Keystone Citizen*. In the autumn of

1909 this was enlarged to an eight page weekly and after one year was changed to the Pennsylvania Edition of the *American Issue*. The *American Issue* is published at Westerville, Ohio, by the Anti-Saloon League of America, but most of the states have a separate state edition with a special editor in charge. While the paper is distributed from Westerville the editorial work pertaining to Pennsylvania is done at the Headquarters in Philadelphia.

This paper is and has been through most of the years a bi-weekly. It has had an average circulation of over 25,000 copies. It has been the ammunition factory for the anti-liquor fighters, furnishing them with facts from time to time upon which to base their claim for the triumph of their cause. It has regularly gone into the homes of over six thousand pastors of the state, besides reaching a great army of workers whose money has made the movement possible.

XXII.

THE STRENGTH OF THE FOE.

“The Gibraltar of the liquor traffic.” Such was the language in which the men interested in that business frequently referred to the Keystone State. In all their battle line stretching from ocean to ocean they saw no section which they considered so absolutely invulnerable as the territory between the Delaware and the Ohio. Other divisions might be captured by the dry forces and compelled to surrender; other states might fall before the attacks of the “fanatics,” but Pennsylvania never.

Although they lost the state in the final showdown, they did succeed in holding it back until it was the forty-fifth to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment. While the foes of the saloon kept up the fight year in and year out, they were not blind to the propriety of the title which the liquor men had given the state. The prohibitionists were wide awake to the fact that nowhere in America was the task of subduing the giant more strenuous and difficult than right here. Some of the reasons which gave rum its power-

ful grip on Pennsylvania prevailed in other states, but here there was a combination of factors which offered unusual assurance to the defenders of the traffic and at the same time tested to the limit the faith of those who were assaulting it. Some of these factors will be considered briefly.

From the arrival of William Penn until the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment the liquor business was regarded as a shining mark by the lawmakers charged with raising revenue. Its popularity in this respect never grew dim until the country began to awaken to the fact that the cost to the state in caring for the poverty, crime, and insanity caused by rum vastly outweighed all it returned in the shape of taxes.

There were times when the manufacturers of, and dealers in, intoxicants kicked vigorously against the increase of their taxes. But they readily yielded when they discovered that the more cash they poured into the various public treasuries the less determined was the opposition to their trade. It is probably true that the revenue argument was a greater factor in causing continued toleration of the traffic than any other single argument ever devised by its friends.

Note first the revenue producing power of the state's distilleries and breweries. The last fiscal year previous to our entrance into the World War was the one ending June 30, 1916. During that year the United States Government collected in Pennsylvania taxes on distilled spirits to the amount of \$9,912,342, and on fermented spirits \$11,527,182. During that year the state manufactured one-seventh of all the beer produced in America, being second only to New York. At the close of the year one-sixth of all the whisky in bond in America was in Pennsylvania warehouses, being second only to Kentucky.

The state treasury received for the use of the commonwealth during the same period the sum of \$1,721,733. The total amount paid into the various county, municipal and township treasuries was \$4,414,000.

The revenues coming to state and municipal treasuries was secured from the following sources: Each saloon in first- and second-class cities—Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Scranton—paid into the city treasury \$900, into the county treasury \$100, and into the state treasury \$100. In all other cities each saloon paid \$400 into the city treasury, \$100 to the county

and \$50 to the state. Borough treasuries received \$120 for each saloon while from each borough saloon the county received \$30 and the state \$50. The township saloon paid \$60 into the township treasury, \$15 to the county and \$25 to the state.

During the year 1915 there were in operation in the state 10,512 saloons distributed as follows: In first and second class cities 2,939; in third class cities 1,447; in boroughs 3,894; in townships 2,232.

All wholesale and bottlers' licenses were paid into the state treasury. Brewers and distillers paid into the same a small license fee which was determined by the amount of liquor they manufactured.

Revenue for the federal government was collected at the rate of \$1.50 per barrel for beer and \$1.10 per gallon for distilled spirits. In addition to these there were special taxes which yielded a small percentage of the total.

Thus it will be seen that the state paid in liquor revenue that year a grand total of \$27,575,-257. Approximately three-fourths of this went into the treasury of the United States. Less than one-sixth of it found its way into the treasuries of the various counties and municipalities.

In spite of all the emphasis that was put upon the need of local revenue, in the last analysis a very small part of it remained for use in the local community. Nevertheless, the revenue argument was one of the most powerful the enemy could advance and the most perplexing for the prohibitionist to meet and successfully answer.

The brewers of Pennsylvania were never satisfied with being able to produce merely enough beer to satisfy the ordinary demand. They purchased a vast deal of advertising space from the newspapers, in which they attempted to prove that beer was a food, and in this way they aimed to create additional demand for it.

Moreover, they gave great encouragement to any practice which tended to increase the consumption of their product. Next to the saloon the club became their largest customer. After the opening of the new century, clubs, with sideboards where liquor was dispensed, multiplied rapidly. These were organized frequently under a charter, and in that way were able to furnish liquor to their members without a license, the same as the head of the house could give it to a member of his family.

It became very popular to select some denizen of the wildwood or the air, and honor its tribe with the name of what purported to be a fra-

ternal order. Thus there were the Moose and Elks in their lodges, the Owls in their nests, the Eagles in their eyries, the Lions in their dens, and the Bats in their belfries. Only in rare instances were they without a bar.

Political clubs, hunting clubs and clubs for purely social purposes had their bars and furnished liquor to their patrons. A survey of Pittsburgh in 1915 showed that that city had no less than two hundred and eighty-seven chartered clubs. The number that were operating without a charter was reported to be even greater than that.

Saloons were not permitted to sell liquor on the Sabbath; but, with rare exceptions, the clubs paid no attention to this law. In 1913 an effort was made by the Anti-Saloon League to pass a bill in the legislature compelling liquor-selling clubs to take out a license, thus putting them on the same level as a saloon and preventing them from selling on the Sabbath day. Secretly the retail liquor dealers favored this law, and the League hoped by means of it to split the wet forces. The bill was handled by Samuel B. Scott, of Philadelphia, and an earnest fight made. It failed, however; its defeat being due to the fact that the brewers whipped the retailers into line against the measure.

Many of the towns which had sufficient sentiment to banish the open saloon were cursed with the presence of the club. This fact made the work of the prohibitionists doubly difficult. Many good people sincerely thought that because of the respectability of the club, it was more dangerous than the saloon.

Owing to the looseness of the state laws and the scarcity of reliable evidence, the handling of the club problem by the court was one of extreme difficulty. Due to the enormous membership in some of these clubs, the brewers were able to control the election in many sections where the retail liquor dealers could never have done it lone-handed. Hence the club, whether organized for social, political or fraternal purposes, became a right arm of power in helping the brewers to hold their own against the onslaughts of the reformers.

There was no state in the Union where the liquor interests were so strongly organized and so abundantly financed as in Pennsylvania. The state had over ten thousand retailers. They had an organization in almost every county. Their leaders were without scruples, but clever and diplomatic. During the last few years of the anti-liquor war, Neil Bonner, a Philadelphia saloonkeeper, was their chieftain. In appear-

ance he had none of the characteristics of a man of his trade. He was shrewd, alert and aggressive. Candidates in wet districts had a canny fear of him. Having back of him an organization which could deliver an enormous vote, and which could put up unlimited corruption funds, he was a factor of no mean force in the political affairs of the state. His association maintained traveling agents who went from county to county collecting funds, fixing political fences and keeping the "boys" in line.

But even greater than the organization of the retailers was that of the brewers. They annually produced over eight million barrels of beer, and had no hesitancy in laying assessments on themselves for the purpose of raising funds with which to corrupt the electorate. Their greatest political manipulator was James P. Mulvihill, of Pittsburgh. Through him they issued their orders to the machine. To detect and prevent the use of corruption funds by these associations was a well nigh hopeless task. And little was ever accomplished until suits were instituted by the Federal Government in 1915. E. Lowry Humes, who had been a member of the legislature from Crawford county, was Federal District Attorney at Pittsburgh. In a very aggressive and successful manner he conducted a

long series of investigations which laid bare the iniquity of the brewers. He was able to show that nearly every one of them of any importance had been a heavy contributor to corruption funds. Discovering that they were caught in the net which the Federal attorney had spread for them, some seventy-two firms pleaded guilty and paid their fines.

It frequently happens that when there is no opposition party able to give trouble to the dominant party the leaders of the latter become corrupt and political bossism rules with a high hand. Such was the case in Pennsylvania. Soon after the Civil War there was developed among the Republicans one of the most remorseless and conscienceless political machines known in American history. It was built by the Camerons and later on was inherited by Matthew Stanley Quay. When his hand dropped from the throttle Boies Penrose became chief engineer.

This machine early formed an alliance both offensive and defensive with the liquor interests. As a reward for the protection which it guaranteed to the rum traffic, it was in turn supplied with abundant funds to keep itself intact. A large majority of the governors, judges, and lawmakers were of the machine-made variety.

They felt the necessity of yielding obedience to the powers which brought them into being.

Not only did this machine control its own party, but with rare cunning it reached over into the Democratic party and frequently named the candidates on the opposition ticket. As a result there was no real fight. Many times the Democratic candidate was a mere dummy and was nominated not with the intention of giving, but for the purpose of preventing trouble.

In most of the Western States the temperance forces could turn to the minority and use it to punish the majority party, if the latter refused to play the game in a fair way, but in a state where four-fifths of the lawmakers were in one party and where the election of minority candidates to state office was a political impossibility, the water wagon found itself struggling on a rough and rocky road.

Outside of New York City there was no section of America with an equal population where temperance reform found more difficult conditions than in eastern Pennsylvania. If the state could have been formed into two commonwealths with the Susquehanna river as the dividing line, over two-thirds of the territory would have been in the west, but a large majority of the population would have been in the

east. West Pennsylvania would have almost certainly become a prohibition state years ago. Sixteen of the seventeen counties that were dry when national prohibition became effective were west of the Susquehanna and the solitary dry county in the east—Wyoming—was one of the smallest in the state. The vote in the House of Representatives in 1913 showed that the temperance forces had the support of three-fourths of the members from the western counties.

The bulk of eastern Pennsylvania's population is found in three distinctly marked sections—Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania German counties, and the anthracite territory. And America never had a more difficult field for the growth and development of prohibition work than in these three groups. A famous politician described Philadelphia as "corrupt and contented." He referred of course to its political conditions in bygone days. He told the whole story.

As for the Pennsylvania Germans their social and political conservatism made them slow to favor abolition of drink, and slower still to take drastic action at the polls. However, there was always among them a vigorous minority which kept the fires burning and in late years won some notable political victories.

The anthracite country had problems peculiar to itself. In 1910, forty-seven per cent. of its adult male population was foreign-born and fifteen per cent. was illiterate. Politically this foreign-born population was controlled almost absolutely by the brewers. The latter caused the saloons to be multiplied until nearly every family in the community had a relative or a near friend financially interested in the business. No explanation of results political is necessary.

Through manipulation and misrepresentation organized labor was all too often used effectively by the liquor leaders in blocking the program of the foes of rum. There were approximately ten thousand bartenders and four thousand brewery workers in the state. These constituted only a little more than one per cent. of the entire male population engaged in gainful occupations. But each local community had its bartenders union and also its brewery workers union.

The number of members in these locals might not be one-tenth or even one-twentieth the membership of other locals, such as the machinists and the carpenters, and yet in the central labor councils as well as the state meetings, both being delegated bodies, they all had the same voice and vote. Moreover they were very clever in

handling the affairs in certain allied trades which employed comparatively few men, such as the coopers and drivers.

There were many leaders in union labor who believed in prohibition, but they found it uphill work to obtain any endorsement of their views in their meetings. On the other hand they were often compelled to sit and listen to the tearful appeal of some bartender who reported that the prohibitionists were trying to rob him of his job and consign his wife and children to the almshouse. All too often such a hypocritical plea turned the tide.

The adoption of resolutions condemning prohibition and local option was of frequent occurrence in the labor meetings. The brewers thereupon assiduously spread the information throughout the state that labor was opposed to anything and everything which tended to the abolition of the traffic. Notwithstanding all this opposition, the sentiment for prohibition steadily gained ground among the wage earners, a fact proven beyond question by the increased support which they gave to anti-liquor candidates at the polls.

XXIII.

GLIMPSES AT THE LEDGER.

As a source of sheer waste, man has never devised any scheme quite equal to the traffic in intoxicating liquors. So strong and compelling was the appetite in many men that they were ready to part with priceless treasures to get money for drink. A bartender in Harrisburg was converted to prohibition by the effort of a drinker to sell the shoes of his dead child that he might buy liquor. Men forgot their obligations to their families and hastened the coming of the sheriff in their desire to quench their consuming thirst. Penury, starvation, rags had no terror for him who had fallen into the clutches of demon rum.

To maintain the bars, breweries and distilleries of the state, to furnish enormous dividends to their stockholders, to give employment to a few thousand brewery-workers and bartenders—to do all this required an annual expenditure on the part of the people of two hundred million dollars. That money was taken out of legitimate channels and literally wasted. True, it meant fat bank accounts and rich lux-

uries for the few, but at the same time it meant deprivation of the necessities of life for the multitude. Taking food from the mouth of the drinker's hungry child, the brewer converted it into dividends for deposit in his own bank. Taking the last old shawl from the back of his patron's shivering wife, the saloonkeeper quickly transformed it into silks and furs and clothed his own household in robes of royalty.

Expensive as the liquor business was in dollars and cents, the cost in that respect was a mere trifle in comparison with the cost in human life. When a battle has been fought it is possible to tabulate the number of human beings sacrificed. Not so in the case of drink's ravages. So many factors are involved that exact calculation becomes impossible.

This one thing is certain, however, that the alcohol route to the grave has been traveled by literally millions in our own land. In confirmation of this assertion it is only necessary to leaf through the reports of various officials and the files of the leading newspapers. In doing so one would be able to compile volume after volume of conclusive evidence such as that contained in the following illustrations:

There lies before us the report of Coroner James T. Heffran, of Washington county, for

the year 1910. He found in that one year thirty-three deaths caused by drowning, railroads, trolleys, homicide and suicide which were directly and absolutely the result of alcohol. These covered twenty-nine per cent. of all the cases he was called upon to investigate.

Just across the river from Washington county lies Fayette county, whose coroner, in 1913, investigated thirty-five murders and in his report asserted that alcohol was responsible for thirty-one of them. In this same county of Fayette is the village of Masontown, the center of a populous mining community, and containing two saloons. In 1916 a funeral director of the village in looking over his books tabulated those cases which for twelve years had come under his direction and where death was due to alcohol, with the following results: Thirty-four murders, eight suicides, nineteen accidental deaths and thirty-six deaths from acute alcoholism. This made a total of ninety-seven, or an average of eight per year.

A brief item from the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, where domestic difficulties are handled, throws a strong ray of light on alcohol as a home-breaker. In its report, published in 1916, covering 3,556 cases of trouble between husband and wife, liquor was given as the most

important factor in causing separation of 1,474 couples. This was forty-one per cent.

For many years prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, a vast deal of literature appeared bearing on the relations of liquor and crime. Many estimates were published from time to time concerning the percentage of crime chargeable to the use of alcohol. The opponents of prohibition were quick to seize upon these claims and give what, in many cases, seemed to be a plausible refutation.

With the coming of prohibition it is now possible to publish exact facts concerning arrests and prisoners, but each reader must for himself draw his own conclusions as to the degree of benefits derived from the prohibition of its manufacture and sale.

War time prohibition became effective July 1, 1919. It was superseded by the Eighteenth Amendment, which became effective January 16, 1920. The sale of liquor for beverage purposes has, therefore, been illegal continuously since the earlier date. It should be remembered that the stock of liquor in existence July 1, 1919, has not by any means been exhausted at this writing. Moreover, the law enforcement machinery is as yet crude and imperfect.

Early in May, 1920, the writer made a survey

of jail conditions throughout the state, securing reports from the sheriffs or wardens of each county. Prohibition had been in effect ten months. Request was made for statistics as to the jail population on the day of inquiry and on the corresponding day of the previous year. In some cases reports were given covering a period of one month, and the corresponding period of 1919. Summing up the results, it was found that where the jails of Pennsylvania contained 2,935 prisoners this year they contained on corresponding dates of the previous year under license 5,808 prisoners. This showed a decrease, taking the state as a whole, of practically fifty per cent.

In the matter of arrests, using the last six months under license in comparison with the first six months under prohibition, the city of Philadelphia showed very striking results. In normal times under license the whole number of arrests was climbing close to the hundred thousand mark. The first six months period under prohibition showed a decrease of forty per cent. for all crimes and a decrease of sixty-two per cent. in the number of arrests for intoxication.

Corresponding results were shown in other cities of the state. A few years ago Allegheny county officials were certain that their prison

accommodations must be greatly enlarged. After six months of prohibition the county jail had five hundred empty cells. During the last six months of the wet régime the jail contained fifty-seven murderers. During an equal period under prohibition there were but sixteen.

For two and a half centuries the people of this commonwealth permitted the sale of liquor. In the eyes of some it was a necessity. With others it was a luxury. The multitude regarded it as an evil which must be tolerated because, as they thought, it could not be abolished. But there came upon the field of action a generation which decided that alcohol had no further claims upon a free and progressive nation. Once this decision was reached, the sovereign people solemnly decreed its abolition.

XXIV.

OUTLAWED.

Varied are the emotions of the human heart when one who has been with us for a long time takes his departure. Gladness or sadness—well, it all depends.

John Barleycorn has been lurking around these woods for at least two and a half centuries. So long has he been here that some folks fancied he would never leave us. But he is on the move.

He has had countless devotees. Most of them have already gone to their graves. A few still linger. Some are grievously disappointed that their old crony is so soon to be done for. They are prone to indulge in expressive language, but we quote them not. Others are possessed of a haughty indifference.

Like everybody else who is capable of disturbing the peace and ruining his patrons, old John has made many enemies. They are all waiting to see him aboard and gone—for eternity and a day longer.

What has happened to him, anyway? After

having survived the assaults of his foes for two hundred and fifty years, why is he yielding now?

Is he dying of old age? Hardly. Is he voluntarily quitting the field? Never. But there is reason, and that in abundance.

Quietly, patiently, persistently, hostile forces have been at work for more than a hundred years sowing the seeds of discontent with the ancient practice of liquor drinking. When science, religion and business began to subject this custom to the simplest tests of common sense, they began to create trouble for John.

They did not modify his character. That remains exactly what it was the day he allured the Red Man to his doom. But the attitude of public opinion toward him has undergone the most radical changes. In consequence, he is an outlaw and is no longer permitted to parade himself either in the banquet hall or on the highway. He is denied protection before the law, denuded of his respectability and forced to herd with other criminals.

Utter annihilation of John Barleycorn—that is the intention, the everlasting purpose of new America.

* * * * *

In years gone by I stopped occasionally at one of the best equipped hotels in the Anthracite

country. In connection with it was the largest and most popular bar room in the city. Upon the occasion of a recent visit I discovered that that former drinking palace had been converted into a flower store. Gazing at the beautiful display in the show window I gave free rein to fancy:

In olden days the patrons of this place parted freely with their cash and in return therefor carried home to their families heartaches, ravings, cruelty, poverty, sorrow. Today its patrons carry away to their homes the beautiful flowers—white, crimson, purple—emblems of hope and love, of fidelity and purity, of gentleness and peace.

To cultivate a beautiful flower garden in what was a few months ago a viper's den, to make roses grow this year where deadly night shade last year grew, to wipe out the ugliness of the landscape and make it bloom like the Garden of Eden—that is what the Chief Gardener of the universe has at last induced his workmen here in America to do.

ADDENDA.

PROHIBITION RESOLUTIONS.¹

The following is the text of the prohibition resolution introduced in the first session of the Sixtieth Congress by Ernest F. Acheson, of Washington, Pa.:

Be it enacted, etc. That the following amendment to the constitution be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, which when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures shall become part of the constitution, namely:

Article

The manufacture, sale and importation of intoxicating liquor, including beer, ale and wine, and of opium, cocaine or other narcotic drugs, except for medicinal or mechanical purposes, shall be prohibited in the United States and in all of the territory over which the United States has or shall have jurisdiction. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

* * * * *

The resolution for a constitutional amendment introduced into the House of Representatives by Captain Richmond P. Hobson and rejected on December 22, 1914, was worded as follows:

1. See Chapter XV.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following amendment of the constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the states, to become valid as a part of the constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several states as provided by the constitution:

Article

Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation thereof are forever prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress or the states shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

The resolution secured 197 affirmative votes while 189 members voted against it. It failed through lack of the necessary two-thirds vote. The Pennsylvania members voted as follows:

For—Andrew R. Brodbeck, Hanover; Thomas S. Butler, West Chester; Wooda N. Carr, Uniontown; Frank L. Dershem, Lewisburg; Robert E. Difenderfer, Jenkintown; John R. Farr, Scranton; W. W. Griest, Lancaster; Willis J. Hulings, Oil City; Abraham L. Keister, Scottdale; M. Clyde Kelly, Brad-dock; Edgar R. Kiess, Williamsport; Aaron S. Kreider, Ann-ville; Jonathan N. Langham, Indiana; Fred E. Lewis, Allen-town; Charles E. Patton, Curwensville; Arthur R. Rupley, Carlisle; Milton W. Shreve, Erie; Henry W. Temple, Wash-ington; Anderson H. Walters, Johnstown.

AGAINST—Warren W. Bailey, Johnstown; Andrew J. Barchfelt, Pittsburgh; John J. Casey, Wilkes-Barre; Michael Donohoe, Philadelphia; George W. Edmonds, Philadelphia;

Robert E. Lee, Pottsville; John V. Leshner, Sunbury; J. Hampton Moore, Philadelphia; John M. Morin, Pittsburgh; A. Mitchell Palmer, Stroudsburg; Stephen G. Porter, Pittsburgh.

NOT VOTING—W. D. B. Ainey, Montrose, paired “for”; James F. Burke, Pittsburgh, paired “against”; George S. Graham, Philadelphia; J. Washington Logue, Philadelphia; John H. Rothermel, Reading; William S. Vare, Philadelphia.

* * * * * * *

The Sheppard resolution, which finally became the Eighteenth Amendment, was worded as follows:

“Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

“Section 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

“Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several states, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.”

The resolution submitting this amendment passed the Senate on August 1, 1917, by a vote of sixty-five to twenty, Senator P. C. Knox voting for it and Senator Boies Penrose voting against it. It passed the House of Representatives on December 17, 1917, by a vote of 282 to

128. In the Pennsylvania delegation, the thirty-six members split even and voted as follows:

FOR—Earl H. Beshlin, Warren; Andrew R. Brodbeck, Hanover; Thomas S. Butler, West Chester; Peter Costello, Philadelphia; George P. Darrow, Philadelphia; John R. Farr, Scranton; Benjamin K. Focht, Lewisburg; W. W. Griest, Lancaster; M. Clyde Kelly, Braddock; Edgar R. Kiess, Williamsport; Aaron S. Kreider, Annville; Louis T. McFadden, Canton; Edward E. Robbins, Greensburg; John M. Rose, Johnstown; Charles H. Rowland, Philipsburg; Bruce F. Sterling, Uniontown; Nathan L. Strong, Brookville; Henry W. Temple, Washington.

AGAINST—Guy Campbell, Crafton; Henry W. Clarke, Erie; Thomas S. Crago, Waynesburg; Arthur G. Dewalt, Allentown; George W. Edmonds, Philadelphia; Mahlon M. Garland, Pittsburgh; George S. Graham, Philadelphia; Robert D. Heaton, Ashland; John V. Leshner, Sunbury; Joseph McLaughlin, Philadelphia; J. Hampton Moore, Philadelphia; John M. Morin, Pittsburgh; Stephen G. Porter, Pittsburgh; John R. K. Scott, Philadelphia; Henry J. Steele, Easton; Thomas W. Templeton, Plymouth; William S. Vare, Philadelphia; Henry W. Watson, Langhorne.

FORTY YEARS OF BREWING AND DISTILLING.

The following table shows the progress and development of the manufacture of liquor during the forty year period ending June 30, 1917. Let it be remembered that these tables show the amount produced rather than the amount consumed. It is possible that in the case of distilled

liquors the consumption did not equal the production, large quantities of it being shipped out of the state. With reference to beer, however, it is asserted by leading brewery authorities that a much larger quantity of beer was shipped in than was shipped out. In the case of Philadelphia, for instance, while it has been a great brewery center the fact remains that for many years prior to prohibition the breweries of Milwaukee shipped beer by the train loads for consumption over Philadelphia bars. In the following tables distilled liquors are enumerated in gallons and fermented liquors in barrels, a barrel containing thirty-one gallons. Totals by decades are given:

Years	Distilled. (Gallons)	Fermented. (Barrels)
1878-1887	31,218,582	16,933,622
1888-1897	57,046,228	32,530,843
1898-1907	72,659,616	59,452,803
1908-1917	103,598,180	75,488,497

It will be interesting to note in the following table the per capita production at five different periods, observing the rapid increase in the output of the breweries between 1880 and 1910:

Year	Per Capita Production in Gallons.	
	Distilled.	Fermented.
1880 .....	.75	9.73
1890	1.21	16.30

Year	Per Capita Production in Gallons.	
	Distilled.	Fermented.
1900	1.14	21.14
1910	1.22	29.93
1917	1.43	29.81

LICENSE CONDITIONS—1916.

Below is given a table showing the licenses in existence in 1916, that being the last year before the country became involved in the World War. There were still in existence seventy-five distilleries:

County.	Retail.	Wholesale.	Breweries.
Adams	30	2	23
Allegheny	1,256	243	3
Armstrong	28	10	3
Beaver	17	....	3
Bedford .....	....	....	....
Berks	393	37	6
Blair	55	....	3
Bradford	47	5	1
Bucks	119	9	....
Butler	30	....	....
Cambria	216	36	9
Cameron	12	....	2
Carbon	168	25	2
Center	22	11	....
Chester	35	2	....
Clarion	38	....	3
Clearfield	65	14	5
Clinton	38	5	4
Columbia	34	7	1

County.	Retail.	Wholesale.	Breweries.
Crawford .....	....	....	2
Cumberland	22	3	....
Dauphin	131	28	5
Delaware	70	17	1
Elk	49	7	2
Erie	181	19	4
Fayette	57	....	9
Forest	4	....	....
Franklin	25	5	....
Fulton	3	....	....
Greene .....	....	....	....
Huntingdon .....	....	....	....
Indiana	15	....	1
Jefferson .....	....	....	....
Juniata .....	....	....	....
Lackawanna	888	80	8
Lancaster	260	30	11
Lawrence	14	10	2
Lebanon	83	14	2
Lehigh	242	17	6
Luzerne	1,232	146	11
Lycoming	93	11	3
McKean	47	11	1
Mercer .....	....	....	2
Mifflin .....	....	....	....
Monroe	53	3	1
Montgomery	198	12	2
Montour	24	1	1
Northampton	228	25	7
Northumberland	341	37	2
Perry	15	....	....
Philadelphia	1,927	345	42
Pike	34	....	....
Potter	24	3	1
Schuylkill	1,227	124	10

County.	Retail.	Wholesale.	Breweries.
Snyder	14	2	....
Somerset	57	1	4
Sullivan	31	3	....
Susquehanna	36	3	....
Tioga	12	....	....
Union .....	....	....	....
Venango .....	....	....	2
Warren	33	4	....
Washington	32	....	8
Wayne	50	2	2
Westmoreland	176	....	13
Wyoming .....	....	....	....
York	98	17	2
	<hr/> 10,512	<hr/> 1,386	<hr/> 207

POPULAR VOTE IN PENNSYLVANIA FOR PROHIBITION PARTY CANDIDATES.

PRESIDENT.

Year.	Candidate.	Vote.
1872	James Black	1,632
1876	Green Clay Smith	1,319
1880	Neal Dow	1,940
1884	John P. St. John	15,283
1888	Clinton B. Fisk	20,947
1892	John Bidwell	25,123
1896	Joshua Levering	19,274
1900	John G. Wolley	27,908
1904	Silas C. Swallow	33,717
1908	Eugene W. Chafin	36,694
1912	Eugene W. Chafin	19,525
1916	J. Frank Hanly	28,525

GOVERNOR.

Year.	Candidate.	Vote.
1872	S. B. Chase	1,259
1875	R. Audley Brown	13,244
1878	Franklin H. Lane	3,653
1882	Alfred Pettit	5,196
1886	Charles S. Wolfe	32,458
1890	John D. Gill	16,108
1894	Charles L. Hawley	23,433
1898	Silas C. Swallow	125,746
1902	Silas C. Swallow	23,327
1906	Homer L. Castle	24,793
1910	Madison F. Larkin	17,445
1914	M. H. Stevenson	17,467
1918	E. J. Fithian	27,360

COUNTY OPTION ELECTION—1873.

In the local option elections held in March, 1873, forty counties voted dry. Potter county was already dry by legislative enactment. Philadelphia county did not vote. Lackawanna county had not been formed at that time. The remaining counties voted wet. The cities voted separately. A city might vote wet and the rest of the county dry and vice versa. The vote in detail was as follows:

County.	No-License. (Dry)	License. (Wet)
Adams	1,804	2,417
Allegheny	4,312	4,818
Armstrong	2,999	1,976
Beaver	2,412	1,182

County.	No-License.	License.
	(Dry)	(Wet)
Bedford	2,232	2,076
Berks	1,504	8,018
Blair	2,378	889
Bradford	5,213	2,889
Butler	2,147	1,006
Bucks	3,895	7,180
Cambria	2,151	2,265
Cameron	459	226
Carbon	1,006	2,447
Center	2,996	1,558
Chester	5,981	3,880
Clarion	2,260	1,453
Clearfield	1,406	926
Clinton	1,506	709
Columbia	1,792	2,632
Crawford	2,903	2,343
Cumberland	3,574	2,818
Dauphin	2,225	3,127
Delaware	1,880	1,462
Elk	450	1,021
Erie	2,592	1,781
Fayette	3,800	1,721
Forest	141	200
Franklin	3,573	2,711
Fulton	512	756
Greene	2,741	1,427
Huntingdon	2,529	1,259
Indiana	2,342	1,394
Jefferson	2,156	1,194
Juniata	1,442	663
Lancaster	6,470	8,314
Lawrence	1,984	407
Lebanon	1,720	4,093
Lehigh	1,314	4,724

County.	No-License. (Dry)	License. (Wet)
Luzerne	5,780	5,161
Lycoming	2,520	2,071
McKean	681	561
Mercer	3,179	2,236
Mifflin	1,668	790
Monroe	1,112	1,803
Montgomery	4,002	8,208
Montour	1,245	1,143
Northampton	2,449	7,261
Northumberland	3,106	3,341
Perry	2,241	1,663
Pike	294	619
Schuylkill	4,825	10,651
Snyder	835	1,769
Somerset	1,912	1,596
Sullivan	406	510
Susquehanna	3,222	1,380
Tioga	2,863	1,993
Union	1,410	1,172
Venango	2,106	1,469
Warren	2,309	1,392
Washington	3,705	1,816
Wayne	1,439	1,775
Westmoreland	4,018	3,303
Wyoming	1,923	497
York	4,707	6,556
City.		
Allegheny	3,067	5,272
Allentown	962	1,799
Altoona	1,517	584
Beaver Falls	372	157
Chester	613	816
Carbondale .....	....	53*
Corry	316	556

County.	No-License.	License.
	(Dry)	(Wet)
Erie	696	2,017
Franklin	382	438
Harrisburg	1,982	2,049
Lock Haven	556	749
Lancaster	984	2,692
Meadville	350	864
New Brighton	329	70
New Castle	629	428
Oil City	350	553
Pittsburgh	4,959	12,391
Reading	2,216	3,831
Seranton .....	....	1,546*
Titusville	598	1,050
West Chester	596	539
Wilkes-Barre .....	....	473*
Williamsport,	1,654	819

*Wet Majority, the vote in detail not being available.

RESULTS OF STATE WIDE CONTESTS 1854 AND 1889.

COUNTY	PLEBISCITE		AMENDMI NT	
	1854		1889	
	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet
Adams	1,236	1,584	2,167	3,505
Allegheny	10,032	4,053	19,611	45,799
Armstrong	2,323	1,771	3,760	3,913
Beaver	1,955	1,089	4,751	3,221
Bedford	1,252	2,361	2,829	3,677
Berks	2,612	10,599	3,229	22,438
Blair	2,253	1,143	6,322	4,038
Bradford	4,353	1,672	6,903	3,498

COUNTY	PLEBISCITE 1854		AMENDMENT 1889	
	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet
Bucks	3,778	5,879	4,698	9,018
Butler	2,301	2,293	5,614	3,919
Cambria	1,292	1,325	2,758	4,190
Cameron .....	....	....	511	373
Carbon	658	1,072	1,530	3,882
Center	2,438	1,879	4,589	2,654
Chester	5,508	3,830	8,415	6,723
Clarion	2,148	1,567	3,701	2,241
Clearfield	1,235	872	5,152	3,570
Clinton	1,141	730	2,135	2,181
Columbia	1,037	1,933	2,607	3,848
Crawford	2,994	2,135	7,518	4,014
Cumberland	2,326	3,210	3,779	4,422
Dauphin	2,476	3,448	5,062	8,737
Delaware	1,722	1,593	4,539	5,595
Elk	282	312	826	1,579
Erie	2,767	1,501	5,163	8,978
Fayette	3,497	1,407	7,154	4,142
Forest .....	....	....	843	414
Franklin	2,539	3,241	3,605	4,914
Fulton	426	832	543	1,142
Greene	1,187	1,780	3,143	2,831
Huntingdon	2,169	1,294	3,096	2,391
Indiana	2,368	1,338	4,966	2,067
Jefferson	1,385	1,015	4,076	2,452
Juniata	1,140	909	1,337	1,431
Lackawanna .....	....	....	7,889	9,896
Lancaster	5,536	8,969	7,290	18,271
Lawrence	2,359	737	4,486	1,588
Lebanon	1,091	2,744	1,460	6,752
Lehigh	776	4,733	1,779	11,684
Luzerne	4,283	3,265	11,145	14,977
Lycoming	2,309	1,889	4,556	5,681

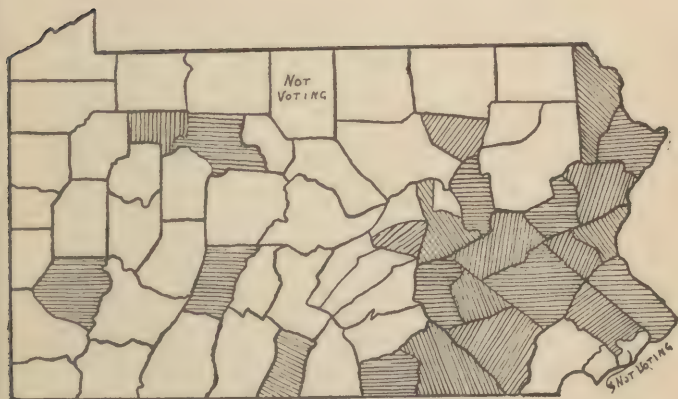
COUNTY	PLEBESCITE 1854		AMENDMENT 1889	
	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet
McKean	415	481	3,054	2,058
Mercer	2,985	1,846	6,868	2,882
Mifflin	1,398	982	2,034	1,335
Monroe	574	1,718	970	2,585
Montgomery	3,819	5,789	4,638	14,358
Montour	773	735	1,199	1,621
Northampton	1,411	5,093	2,986	11,152
Northumberland ..	1,504	2,280	5,062	5,699
Perry	1,297	1,930	1,908	2,214
Philadelphia	25,330	20,470	26,468	118,963
Pike	242	458	260	969
Potter	613	550	1,575	1,546
Schuylkill	2,752	5,758	4,180	16,490
Snyder .....	....	....	947	2,359
Somerset	1,740	1,642	2,079	3,451
Sullivan	299	349	667	961
Susquehanna	2,640	1,525	4,781	2,305
Tioga	2,041	1,576	4,713	3,637
Union	1,440	2,614	1,605	1,412
Venango	1,830	822	5,409	1,908
Warren	1,273	975	3,582	2,672
Washington	4,276	2,572	6,762	4,757
Wayne	1,603	868	2,521	2,770
Westmoreland	3,346	3,236	8,292	8,184
Wyoming	1,191	339	2,259	1,041
York	2,330	5,905	6,341	11,407
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	158,318	163,457	296,617	484,644

ELECTION RESULTS AT A GLANCE.

The following maps show at a glance the conditions of sentiment on the liquor question in the several counties at various periods, the shaded counties voting wet:



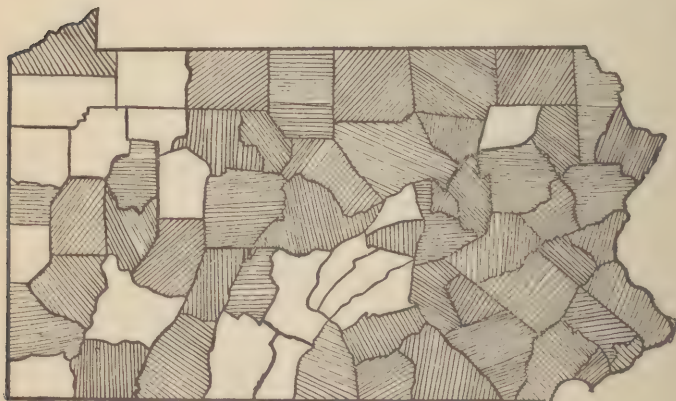
THE PLEBISCITE OF 1854.



COUNTY OPTION ELECTIONS OF 1873.



CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 1889.



NO-LICENSE CAMPAIGNS 1909-1919.

ROSTER.

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

President—Mrs. Ella M. George, Beaver Falls.

Vice President—Miss Amanda Landes, Millersville.

Corresponding Secretary—Miss Ella Broomell, Harrisburg.

Recording Secretary—Mrs. Clella S. Michelfelder, Harrison Valley.

Treasurer—Mrs. Leah Cobb Marion, Emporium.

Secretary Young People's Branch—Mrs. Mary B. Tait, Mercer.

Secretary Loyal Temperance Legion—Mrs. Myra M. Stauffer, Manheim.

Secretary Temperance Light Bearers—Mrs. C. B. Simmons, Oil City.

Publisher "W. C. T. U. Bulletin"—Miss A. Virginia Grosh, Lititz.

DEPARTMENT HEADS.

Americanization—Mrs. Ella B. Black, Beavertdale.

Medical Temperance—Dr. Hannah McK. Lyons, Lincoln University.

Anti-Narcotics—Mrs. Almyra Porter, Pittsburgh.

Humane Education—Mrs. S. Canfield Wilson, Clearfield.

Institutes—Mrs. Sylvia B. Norrish, Sayre.

Medal Contests—Miss H. Frances Jones, Philadelphia.

Publicity—Miss Linnie Long, Beaver Falls.

Scientific Temperance—Mrs. Sara Phillips Bunting, Stone Harbor, N. J.

Sunday Schools—Mrs. Paul McKendrick, Kittanning.

Temperance and Missions—Mrs. Caroline McDowell, Pittsburgh.

Evangelistic—Mrs. Harry Wimer, Butler.

Moral Education—Dr. Sina Stratton, Philadelphia.

Temperance and Labor—Mrs. Lida C. Beam, Greenville.

Sabbath Observance—Miss Anna E. Wilson, Philadelphia.

Soldiers and Sailors—Mrs. Carrie Welsh, Beaver.

Fairs—Mrs. Lucy A. Poole, Scottdale.

Flower Mission—Mrs. Anna M. Stoner, Mt. Pleasant.

Social Meetings—Mrs. Winifred Postlewait, South Fork.

Franchise—Miss May B. Macken, Glenside.

Peace and Arbitration—Mrs. Mary S. Parry, Waynesburg.

COUNTY PRESIDENTS.

Adams—Mrs. Robert Eldon, Aspers.

Allegheny—Mrs. Rachel C. Robinson, 715 Wallace Avenue,
Wilkinsburg.

Armstrong—Miss Laura Guthrie, Apollo.

Beaver—Mrs. Alice N. Ralph, 3428 Sixth Avenue, Beaver Falls.

Bedford—Miss L. Dubin Shuck, Pitt Street, Bedford.

Berks—Mrs. Ada Landis, 1380 Perkiomen Avenue, Reading.

Blair—Mrs. C. C. Marks, 1332 Sixth Avenue, Altoona.

Bradford—Mrs. Eliz. Estabrook, Athens, R. D.

Bucks—Mrs. Myrtle M. Kester, Newtown.

Butler—Mrs. Olive S. Harbison, 613 Brady Street, Butler.

Cambria—Miss Cora Cramer, 415 Napoleon Street, Johnstown.

Cameron—Mrs. Elizabeth Baker, Emporium.

Carbon—Mrs. G. W. Dungan, Lehighton.

Center—Miss Rebecca N. Rhoads, Bellefonte.

Chester—Dr. Hanna McK. Lyons, Lincoln University.

Clearfield—Mrs. Lillian N. Trezise, 324 Knarr Street, Dubois.

Clarion—Mrs. Jennie S. Jones, East Brady.

Clinton—Miss Anne R. Furst, Flemington.

Columbia—Mrs. Mary Van Houten, Berwick.

Crawford—Mrs. Nettie V. Traum, 610 Alden Street, Meadville.

Cumberland—Mrs. L. C. Beam, Lemoyne.

Dauphin—Mrs. Gertrude Leidigh, 32 N. Seventeenth Street,
Harrisburg.

Delaware—Mrs. Sarah P. Cornogg, Concordville.

Elk—Mrs. Emma Wells, Johnsonburg.

Erie—Mrs. Belle Davis Smith, 120 W. Eighteenth Street, Erie.

Fayette—Mrs. Kate Ritenour, 5 Nutt Avenue, Uniontown.

- Forest—Mrs. Marie Klinestiver, Nebraska.
 Franklin—Mrs. Cora Funk Fahrney, Waynesboro.
 Greene—Mrs. Elizabeth M. Clovis, Jollytown.
 Huntingdon—Mrs. T. T. Myers, Huntingdon.
 Indiana—Mrs. Sarah Rumbaugh, Homer City.
 Jefferson—Mrs. W. A. Shankle, Big Run.
 Juniata—Mrs. W. H. Zeiders, Mifflintown.
 Lackawanna—Mrs. Agnes Brodie, 47 Williams Avenue, Carbondale.
 Lancaster—Miss Amanda Landes, Millersville.
 Lawrence—Miss Margaret S. Walker, Maple Lane, Pulaski.
 Lebanon—Mrs. Carrie Duth, 36 N. Ninth Street, Lebanon.
 Lehigh—Mrs. M. M. Horlacher, 721 Westminster Street, Allentown.
 Luzerne—Mrs. Ruth K. Cool, 221 Wyoming Avenue, Pittston.
 Lycoming—Mrs. M. I. Jamison, 2111 King Street, Newberry.
 McKean—Mrs. Evan O'Neill Kane, 230 Clay Street, Kane.
 Mercer—Mrs. Beva C. Law, Mercer.
 Mifflin—Mrs. Emma B. Foster, Lewistown.
 Monroe—Mrs. Myra Ammerman, Echo Lake.
 Montgomery—Mrs. Elizabeth Heebner, Lansdale.
 Montour—Mrs. Boone G. Vastine, W. Market Street, Danville.
 Northampton—Mrs. Ellen L. Seip, 824 Meixell Street, Easton.
 Northumberland—Miss Margaretta H. Watson, McEwensville.
 Perry—Mrs. Carrie Jeffers, Newport.
 Pike—Mrs. Roanna Wood, Matamoras.
 Philadelphia—Mrs. M. V. Stringer, 4840 Pulaski Avenue, Philadelphia.
 Potter—Mrs. Clella S. Michelfelder, Harrison Valley.
 Schuylkill—Mrs. Clara Slater, Second Street, Pottsville.
 Snyder—Mrs. H. C. Graybill, Paxtonville.
 Somerset—Mrs. Ida Statler, Somerset.
 Sullivan—Mrs. Sara Huckell Corson, Forksville.
 Susquehanna—Mrs. E. W. Lott, Springville.
 Tioga—Mrs. M. N. Edwards, Potter Brook.
 Union—Mrs. John H. Follmer, Lewisburg.

Venango—Mrs. Clara E. Goodwin, 110 Bissell Avenue, Oil City.
 Warren—Mrs. Mabel Dallas, Sugargrove.
 Washington—Mrs. W. C. Hair, Claysville.
 Wayne—Mrs. E. G. Barnes, Beech Lake.
 Westmoreland—Mrs. Lucy A. Poole, Scottdale.
 Wyoming—Mrs. Elizabeth Wiggins, Tunkhannock.
 York—Mrs. Mayme G. Wetzell, 320 Reinecke Place, York.

ROSTER.

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

President—Bishop Luther B. Wilson, New York.
General Superintendent—Rev. P. A. Baker, Westerville, Ohio.
Pennsylvania Members Board of Directors—R. A. Hutchison,
 E. E. Stauffer, E. L. McIlvaine, R. E. Johnson and Allan
 Sutherland.
Pennsylvania Executive Committeeman—Allan Sutherland.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.

President—Rev. C. C. Hays, Johnstown.
Vice Presidents—H. F. Schlegel and J. W. Vickerman.
Secretary—James H. Morgan.
Treasurer—Samuel L. Hayes.
Headquarters Committee—C. C. Hays, Allan Sutherland, James
 H. Morgan, W. M. Stanford, John Watchorn, G. D. Batdorf,
 W. E. McCulloch, J. S. M. Isenberg, R. A. Hutchison, D.
 C. Hanna, Groves W. Drew, J. H. Brandt, J. W. Vickerman,
 George Rankin, Charles W. Masland and John A. McSparran.
State Superintendent—Homer W. Tope, Philadelphia.
Editor—Harry M. Chalfant.
District Superintendents—C. H. Brandt, J. F. Hartman, J. Day
 Brownlee, J. Mitchell Bennetts, Joseph Lyons Ewing and
 B. L. Scott.
Assistant District Superintendent—J. C. Carpenter.
Field Secretaries—N. E. Yeiser, Walter E. Knouse, A. C. D.
 Hartman, Henry A. Frye and Alford Kelley.

PERSONNEL

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.

Abbreviations: A. S. L.—Anti-Saloon League.

Hdq. Com.—Headquarters Committee.

H. of R.—House of Representatives.

(NOTE.—All are ministers except as otherwise designated.)

ALBERT, CHAS. H. Lecturer and Teacher. Per diem speaker since 1907. Lutheran Layman. Bloomsburg.

BAKER, PURLEY A. Gen. Supt. A. S. L. of America since 1903. Methodist. Westerville, Ohio.

BATDORF, G. D. United Brethren Pastor. Member Hdq. Com. since 1919. Lancaster.

BAYNE, FRANK M. Field Sec. 1909-1911. Episcopal Clergyman. Deceased.

BENNETTS, J. MITCHELL. Born and educated in England. Pastor in New York and Philadelphia. Field Sec. 1914-15. Supt. Wilkes-Barre Dist. since 1915. Methodist. Wilkes-Barre.

BORING, A. L. Per diem speaker since 1911. United Brethren. Altoona.

BRANDT, CHAS. H. Born York County. Educated Ursinus College. Pastor Reformed Churches. Field Sec. 1906-07. Supt. Wilkes-Barre Dist. 1907-14. Altoona Dist. since 1914. Altoona.

BRANDT, JOS. H. Business. Member Hdq. Com. since 1913. Lutheran Layman. Philadelphia.

BROWNLEE, J. DAY. Educated Princeton and University of Pittsburgh Law School. Attorney Penn'a. A. S. L. 1916-19. Supt. Harrisburg Dist. since 1919. United Presbyterian. Harrisburg.

BURNETT, JOHN A. Pastor. Supt. Pittsburgh Dist. 1911. United Presbyterian.

CARPENTER, J. C. Pastor. Per diem speaker and field

secretary, 1909-12. Assistant Supt. Pittsburgh Dist. since 1914. Methodist Protestant. Pittsburgh.

CARROLL, CHAS. W. Philadelphia. See Chapter XX.

CHAMBERS, GEO. S. Many years member of Hdq. Com. Pastor Pine Street Presbyterian Church. Harrisburg. Deceased.

CHALFANT, HARRY M. Educated Washington and Jefferson College. Pastor 1893-09. Editor *Keystone Citizen* 1909-10. Editor *American Issue* (Penn'a Edition) since 1910. Methodist. Philadelphia.

CHASE, W. H. Field Sec. and Ass't. State Supt. Penn'a. A. S. L. until 1911. Supt. Florida A. S. L. 1911-12. Presbyterian. Auburn, Ind.

CHERRINGTON, ERNEST H. Business Manager A.S.L. of America. Editor-in-chief of all A. S. L. publications. Gen. Supt. World League Against Alcoholism. Methodist Layman. Westerville, Ohio.

CLAFLIN, A. H. City Missionary. Per diem speaker, 1908-16. Field Sec. A. S. L. of America since 1916. Congregationalist. Westerville, Ohio.

CLAYCOMB, D. LLOYD. Attorney-at-law. H. of R. 1913. Per diem speaker since 1910. Layman Reformed Church. Altoona.

CLAYPOOLE, ERNEST V. Dist. Supt. in Missouri and Michigan. Supt. Harrisburg Dist. 1917-19. State Supt. Rhode Island since 1919. Providence, R. I.

CROSBY, WILLIS K. Supt. Pittsburgh Dist. A. S. L. 1909-10. Trustee A. S. L. 1911-15. Methodist Pastor. Edinboro.

CURRAN, J. J. Vice Pres. A. S. L. of America. Prominent in Catholic Total Abstinence Union. Board Trustees Penn'a. A. S. L. Catholic Priest. Wilkes-Barre.

DAUGHERTY, B. F. Per diem speaker since 1908. Member Board of Trustees. United Brethren Pastor. Lebanon.

DAVIS, HARRY A. Attorney-at-law. Per diem speaker. Trustee. Presbyterian Layman. Altoona.

DEVENDORF, FRANK M. Y. M. C. A. Secretary. Per

diem speaker since 1915. A. S. L. Board Trustees. Methodist Layman. Wilkes-Barre.

DINWIDDIE, EDWIN C. Educated Wittenburg College, Ohio. Supt. Penn'a. A. S. L. 1897-99. Legislative Supt. A. S. L. of America. Lutheran. Washington, D. C. See Chapter XX.

DREW, GROVES W. Educated Temple University. Member Hdq. Com. since 1916. Baptist Pastor. Philadelphia.

DUNN, CHAS. E. Vice President Board Trustees 1907-16. Presbyterian Pastor. Philadelphia. Deceased.

ECKERT, DANA C. Educator. Per diem speaker since 1916. Pittsburgh.

ELY, GEO. B. Per diem speaker 1910-14. Lutheran Pastor. Turbotville.

EWING, JOSEPH LYONS. Educated Washington and Jefferson College. Pastor. Member Hdq. Com. of N. J. Chairman Lycoming County A. S. L. 1911-20. Supt. Philadelphia Dist. beginning in April, 1920. Presbyterian. Philadelphia.

FANNING, MICHAEL J. Baptist. Philadelphia. See Chap. XVIII.

FRANTZ, E. H. Per diem speaker 1909-12. Lawyer. Methodist Layman. Lancaster.

FORNCROOK, J. C. Many years member Hdq. Com. Also Board Trustees A. S. L. Pastor Church of God. Highspire.

FRENCH, D. P. Assistant Supt. Erie Dist. 1914-17. Ass't. State Supt. South Dakota 1917-19. Dist. Supt. Wisconsin since 1919. Baptist.

FRYE, HENRY A. A. E. F. 1918-19. Field Sec. California A. S. L. 1916. Same Penn'a. A. S. L. 1919-20. Law Student. Methodist Layman. Cambridge, Mass.

GAIGE, F. M. Educator. Per diem speaker since 1914. Presbyterian Layman. Millersville.

GAUPP, F. A. Field Sec. 1907-11. Presbyterian Pastor. Saxonburg.

GORDON, WM. M. Banker. V. Pres. Board Trustees 1916-19. Presbyterian Layman. Philadelphia. Deceased.

GOTWALD, WM. H. Field Sec. A. S. L. 1898-1917. Sec. Lutheran Temp. Com. 1917-19. Lutheran. Washington, D. C. See Chapter XX.

HANNA, DWIGHT C. Member Hdq. Com. of Illinois. Same in Penn'a. since 1914. Presbyterian Pastor. Philadelphia.

HARTMAN, JOHN F. Educated Dickinson College. Pastor. Supt. Erie Dist. since 1916. Methodist. Erie.

HARTMAN, AUBREY C. D. Educated Wesleyan University. Field Secretary A. S. L. 1917 and 1920. Methodist Layman. Erie.

HAYES, SAMUEL L. Banker. Treasurer A. S. L. since 1913. Lutheran Layman. Philadelphia.

HAYS, CALVIN C. Educated Washington and Jefferson College. Pres. Board Trustees Penn'a. A. S. L. since 1912. Presbyterian Pastor. Johnstown.

HESS, TITUS ASHER. Drummer Boy in Civil War. Per diem speaker since 1908. Congregationalist. Philadelphia.

HOLSOPPLE, FRANK F. Educated Juniata College. Minister and educator. Per diem speaker 1909-14. Supt. Harrisburg Dist. 1914-17. Pastor Church of the Brethren, Hagerstown, Md.

HOLSINGER, I. H. Educator and social service worker. Per diem speaker since 1915. Church of the Brethren. Pittsburgh.

HONEYMAN, R. M. Y. M. C. A. Secretary and Evangelist. Per diem speaker since 1910. Dutch Reformed. Montrose.

HUMPHREY, U. G. Supt. A. S. L. of Indiana 1903-07. Same of Wisconsin 1907-11. Supt. Pittsburgh Dist. 1911-14. Methodist. Deceased.

HUSTON, CHAS. L. Steel Manufacturer. Vice Pres. Penn'a. A. S. L. 1910-19. Chairman Chester County No-License League. Presbyterian Layman. Coatesville.

HUTCHISON, R. A. Member Board Trustees since 1900. Hdq. Com. since 1913. Per diem speaker since 1900. Sec.

Board of Home Missions. United Presbyterian Church. Pittsburgh.

ISENBERG, J. M. S. Educated Ursinus College. Member Hdq. Com. since 1918. Pastor Reformed Church. Philadelphia.

JOHNSON, MISS ETHEL. Secretary to Supt. Wilkes-Barre Dist. since 1908. Methodist Protestant. Wilkes-Barre.

JOHNSON, ROBT. E. Educated Wayland University. Per diem speaker since 1914. Member state and national Boards of Trustees. Methodist Pastor. Philadelphia.

JORDAN, CHAS. G. Lecturer and evangelist. Member H. of R. of Pa. session 1919. Per diem speaker since 1909. Presbyterian. Volant.

JOHNSTON, WM. TELL. Educated Temple University. Per diem speaker. Trustee, Member Hdq. Com. Pastor Bristol Baptist Church. Died 1916.

JOY, A. C. Business. Field Secretary. Per diem speaker since 1909. Methodist Layman. Erie.

KEELY, J. H. One of the early field secretaries of the Penn'a. A. S. L. Methodist.

KELLEY, ALFORD. Educated Princeton. Pastor. Field Sec. 1907-10. Supt. Harrisburg Dist. 1910-14. Field Sec. since Feb., 1920. Presbyterian. Philadelphia.

KNOUSE, LIEUT. WALTER E. Evangelistic Singer. A. E. F. 1917-19. Field Sec. since 1919. Methodist Layman. Philadelphia.

LOCKWOOD, FRANK C. Professor Allegheny College 1902-16. Per diem speaker 1908-16. Methodist. Tucson, Ariz. See Chapter XIV.

LOUGHRY, EDWARD G. An early worker in the A. S. L. Sec. Board and per diem speaker. Methodist. Deceased. See Chapter XX.

LUFT, AUGUST. Manufacturer. Per diem speaker since 1914. Presbyterian Layman. Coudersport.

MACKIE, JOS. B. C. Member Hdq. Com. 1913-17. Presbyterian pastor. Haddonfield, N. J.

MARKWARD, J. BRADLEY. Member Hdq. Com. 1910-19. Lutheran Pastor. Springfield, Ohio.

MARTIN, WM. H. High School Teacher. Member House of Representatives 1919. Per diem speaker since 1908. Presbyterian Layman. Wilksburg.

MASLAND, CHAS. W. Manufacturer. Member Hdq. Com. since 1913. Methodist Layman. Philadelphia.

MCCULLOCH, W. E. Member Hdq. Com. since 1913. United Presbyterian Pastor. Pittsburgh.

MCCURDY, E. E. Attorney-at-law. Member Hdq. Com. 1913-15. United Brethren Layman. Lebanon.

MCCHOSE, E. D. High School Instructor. Per diem speaker 1908-1917. Evangelical Association Layman. Deceased.

MCILVAINE, EDWIN L. Board of Trustees of State and National A. S. L. Presbyterian Pastor. Meadville.

MCSARRAN, JOHN A. Educated Princeton. Farmer. Master State Grange. Lecturer. Elected Member Hdq. Com. 1920. Presbyterian Layman. Furniss.

MEADOWS, E. L. Per diem speaker 1909-18. Methodist Pastor. Pittsburgh.

MILLER, BROWN. Professor in Juniata College. Per diem speaker since 1911. Church of the Brethren. Huntingdon.

MOORE, CLARA E. Head Bookkeeper and Ass't. Treas. since 1913. Baptist. Philadelphia.

MOORE, D. GLENN. Newspaper editor. Educated Washington and Jefferson College. Per diem speaker since 1909. United Presbyterian. Washington.

MOORE, E. J. Westerville, Ohio. See Chapter XX.

MORGAN, JAS. H. College President. Sec. Board Trustees since 1902. Member Hdq. Com. since 1902. Methodist. Carlisle.

MULLOWNEY, J. J. Physician. Teacher Girard College. Per diem speaker since 1915. Society of Friends. Philadelphia.

MULTER, W. N. Realtor. Per diem speaker since 1908. Methodist Layman. Wilkes-Barre.

MYERS, T. T. Pastor. Per diem speaker since 1918. Church of the Brethren. Huntingdon.

NICHOLSON, S. EDGAR. Field Sec. A. S. L. of America. Richmond, Ind. See Chapter XX.

NISSLEY, EDWARD S. Banker. Treasurer Penn'a. A. S. L. 1910-13. United Brethren Layman. Harrisburg.

NYE, L. B. High School Instructor. Per diem speaker since 1910. Lutheran Layman. Harrisburg.

O'NEIL, J. DENNY. Banker and Merchant. Baptist Layman. McKeesport. See Chapter XV.

OXTOBY, BLAINE M. Manufacturer. Per diem speaker since 1910. Presbyterian Layman. Erie.

PAGE, C. E. He organized the Altoona District and later the Pittsburgh District where he labored until Jan. 1, 1909. Congregational minister.

PARRISH, HENRY. Physician. Per diem speaker 1909-16. Philadelphia. Deceased.

PATCH, I. P. Veteran of Civil War. College President. Supt. Altoona Dist. 1909-14. Per diem speaker since 1914. Congregational Minister. Altoona.

PENDER, J. T. Lecturer and Pastor. Active in Prohibition Party. Per diem speaker A. S. L. since 1917. Methodist. Washington.

PETERS, ALLEN H. Merchant Tailor. Per diem speaker since 1916. Methodist Layman. Wilkes-Barre.

PHILIPS, G. W. S. Pastor. Pres. First County A. S. L. organized in State—Mercer. Ass't. Supt. Erie Dist. 1917-18. Per diem speaker since 1918. Methodist. Erie.

RANKIN, GEO. Banker. Member Hdq. Com. since 1913. United Brethren Layman. Wilkesburg.

REED, GEO. EDWARD. Former President Dickinson College. Pres. Penn'a. A. S. L. 1904-12. Methodist. Harrisburg.

RITTER, FRANK S. Field Sec. and per diem speaker 1916-18. Congregational Minister. Atlantic City.

RITTER, WILSON W. Insurance Adjuster. Field Sec. 1914-15. Methodist Layman. Camp Hill.

ROBBINS, W. C. Per diem speaker since 1917. Methodist. Williamsport.

ROCKEY, C. H. Field Sec. Penn'a. A. S. L. 1910-12. Same New Jersey since 1912. Lutheran. Newark, N. J.

ROGERS, W. A. Y. M. C. A. Secretary. Per diem speaker since 1915. Methodist Layman. Wilkes-Barre.

SAWTELLE, R. H. Per diem speaker 1910-17. Disciples Minister. Altoona.

SAYFORD, JOHN M. Banker. Treasurer Penn'a. A. S. L. 1897-1909. Presbyterian Layman. Died 1909.

SCHLEGEL, H. FRANCIS. Minister. Vice Pres. A. S. L. and member of Board since 1904. Per diem speaker. United Evangelical. Reading.

SCHLICHTER, J. ARTHUR. Lecturer and Evangelist. Per diem speaker A. S. L. since 1914. United Brethren Layman. Philadelphia.

SCOTT, BERT L. Educated Allegheny College. Newspaper reporter. Ass't. Supt. Erie Dist. 1912-14. Supt. same 1914-16. Supt. Pittsburgh Dist. since 1916. Baptist. Pittsburgh.

SHAFFER, GEORGE. Per diem speaker 1909-14. Methodist Protestant Pastor.

SIEBER, L. L. Field Secretary 1907-11. Lutheran. Gettysburg.

SMITH, BROMLEY. Professor Bucknell University. Per diem speaker A. S. L. 1910-18. Baptist. Lewisburg.

SPICER, J. HENRY. Manufacturer. Member Hdq. Com. 1910-14. Presbyterian Layman. Harrisburg.

STANFORD, WESLEY M. Pastor, Editor, Bishop. Member Hdq. Com. since 1907. Per diem speaker. United Evangelical. Harrisburg. See Chapter XX.

STONE, A. O. Per diem speaker since 1910. Methodist. Harrisburg.

STRANAHAN, JAS. A. Lawyer. Member Legislature and Ass't. Attorney General of Penn'a. Counsel Penn'a. A. S. L. 1904-13. Presbyterian Layman. Harrisburg.

STAUFFER, EDGAR E. Pastor and College Professor. Per diem speaker 1907-20. Board Trustees both State and National A. S. L. United Evangelical. Lebanon.

STEVENS, J. W. Instructor. Per diem speaker 1908-11. Methodist.

SUTHERLAND, ALLAN. Publisher. Sec. Hdq. Com. since 1913. Penn'a. Member of Executive Com. A. S. L. of America. Presbyterian. Philadelphia.

SWENGEL, U. F. Bishop and Pastor. Board of Trustees since 1900. Also Board A. S. L. of America many years. United Evangelical. Harrisburg.

SWIFT, CHAS. F. Educated Adrian College. Supt. Penn'a. A. S. L. 1916-20. Methodist Protestant. Philadelphia. See Chapter XX.

THOMPSON, H. C. Per diem speaker 1915-19. United Presbyterian Pastor.

TOPE, HOMER W. Educated Oberlin and Mt. Union Colleges, Mt. Airy Seminary. Pastor 1888-1900. A. S. L. Supt. in N. Y. and Mass. 1900-07. Supt. Philadelphia Dist. 1907-20. State Supt. Lutheran. Philadelphia. See Chapter XX.

VAN FOSSEN, A. R. Pastor and Educator. Supt. Erie Dist. 1911-14. Springfield (Ill.) Dist. 1914-18. Presbyterian. Winona Lake, Ind.

VICKERMAN, J. W. Publisher. Member H. of R. of Pa., 1915, 1917, 1919. Floor leader of dry forces. Member Hdq. Com. since 1913. Methodist Layman. Bellevue.

WALLACE, E. H. Pastor. Per diem speaker 1910-18. Died 1918. Methodist.

WATCHORN, JOHN. Educated Ursinus College. Pastor and City Missionary. Member Hdq. Com. since 1913. Per diem speaker. Methodist. Philadelphia.

WESTFALL, DANIEL. Business Manager. Per diem speaker 1911-18. Methodist. Pittsburgh.

WHEELER, WAYNE B. Attorney A. S. L. of America. State Supt. Ohio, 1903-16. Congregational Layman. Washington, D. C.

WHITESIDE, HAROLD C. Y. M. C. A. Sec. Per diem speaker 1913-20. A. E. F.

WILSON, JOHN A. Theological Professor. Per diem speaker 1906-15. United Presbyterian. Pittsburgh.

WOODRUFF, J. I. Professor Susquehanna University. Member H. of R. of Pa. 1919. Per diem speaker since 1911. Lutheran. Selinsgrove.

YEISER, N. E. Formerly Missionary in India. Field Sec. A. S. L. since 1918. Lutheran. Pittsburgh.

ZUCK, W. J. Professor Lebanon Valley College prior to 1908. Supt. Erie Dist. 1908-11. Presbyterian Pastor. Columbus, Ohio.

THE ROYAL TWINS.

H. M. C.

Oh! have you not heard of the royal twins,
Ready to serve either "outs" or "ins,"
Whose will you must vote or your vote you must lose?
The names of these twins? Yes, Boodle and Booze.

Ballot reform is the lawmaker's hobby,
Boodle and Booze rule the lawmakers' lobby;
To the lawmaker's heart the people are dear,
But Boodle and Booze get the lawmaker's ear.

There are judges who swing in the easy chair,
Ruling the court with a dignified air,
Who reached their high station by learning to use
The magical powers of Boodle and Booze.

Ye lords and chiefs of rude savage clans,
With serfs and slaves to obey your commands,
My rudeness of speech you'll please excuse,
But you're not in it with Boodle and Booze.

And yet, from over the hills not far away,
There breaks the dawn of the coming day,
When men shall be men and shall longer refuse
To be ruled and be damned by Boodle and Booze.

—From "*The New Voice*" 1902.

INDEX.

- Acheson, E. F., 153, 255.
 Advertising, 134-35, 224-25.
 Agnew, B. L., 207.
 Agnew, Daniel, 75, 117.
 Alleghenia, 32.
 Allegheny college, 140, 174.
 Allegheny county, 147.
 Alter, Geo. E., 124.
 Amendment campaigns, 114-20,
 152-62.
 Amendment resolutions, 255.
American Issue, 232.
 Anderson, Caroline, 198.
 Anthracite region, 244, 253.
 Anti-Saloon League, 61, 70, 87,
 119, 121-32, 134, 148-49, 151-62,
 202-22, 238.
Ashland Daily News, 225.
 Assassination attempted, 148.

 Bailey, Joshua, 89, 118.
 Baker, P. A., 207.
 Baldwin, G. A., 143.
 Baptist Church, 215.
 Barchfeldt, A. J., 154.
 Barnes, Albert, 163.
 Beatty, Chaplain, 22.
 Beane, J. G., 173.
 Beaver county, 143.
 Beaver, Gov. J. A., 115.
 Bedford county, 138.
Bee, The, 230.
 Beecher, Lyman, 60, 62, 64.
 Bell, G. H., 137.
 Benezet, Anthony, 52-55, 61.
 Berks county, 71.
 Berry, J. M., 122.
 Berry, Wm. H., 129-32.
 Bible, The, 148.
 Billingsley, J. K., 87.
 Black Fish, 27.
 Black, Mrs. A. W., 189.
 Black, James, 83, 180.
 Bonner, Neil, 239.
 Bonniwell, Eugene, 161.
 "Book of Laws," 14.
 Bootleggers, 41.
 Boswell, C. M., 207.
 Boycott, 134, 137, 226.
 Boyd, Berkey, 123.
 Boyer, Geo. E., 142.
Braddock Leader, 226.
 Brewers, 240.
 Brewery, Penn's, 17.

 Brewing, 14, 17, 37, 258.
 "Brimstone Corner," 188.
 Brockway, C. E., 139.
 Bromall, Judge, 111.
 Brooks, W. H., 102.
 Brooks Law., 102-13, 115, 133.
 Brown, I. B., 97.
 Brown, W. Y., 172.
 Brownsville, 47.
 Brumbaugh, M. G., 124, 131.
 Buchan, Dr., 52.
 Bucks county, 71.
 Buffalo Valley, 63.
 Butler, W. B., 88.
 Butler county, 145.
 Bryan, W. J., 219.
 By-products, 150.

 Cadets of Temperance, 169.
 Cameron, David, 145.
 Campbell, Hugh, 65.
 Campbell, J. Elmer, 144.
 Canevin, Bishop, 173.
 "Capitol Steal," 129, 181.
 Carlisle, 50.
 Carroll, C. W., 210-12.
 Carson, J. P., 142.
 Catholic Total Abstinence Union,
 173.
 Catholic Prohibition Association,
 173.
 Chalfant, H. M., 231.
 Chalfant, Thos., 88.
 Chambers, Rebecca, 193, 194.
 Chase, Fanny D. B., 171, 191.
 Chase, S. B., 170, 181.
 Chester, 71.
 Chester county, 146.
 Cheyne, Dr., 52.
 Children and drink, 19.
 Christian Temperance Alliance,
 204, 207.
 Christy, B. C., 87.
 Church of the Brethren, 215.
 Church of God, 215.
 Churches, 120, 202, 214.
 Clark, Billy, 61.
 Clapp, Ralph, 64.
 Clinton, Gov., 21.
 Clubs, 66, 237.
 Cole, J. H., 146.
 Colonial customs, 18, 20, 54.
 Colonial legislation, 36-44.
 Columbia county, 149.

- Compensation, 96, 117.
 Congregationalist, 60, 211, 212, 215.
 Constitutional amendments, 114-20, 151-62, 266.
 Constitutional conventions, 73, 89.
 Constitutional majority, 122.
 Conservation of food, 42-44.
 Consumption of liquor, 23.
 Conventions, 70, 71, 79, 83, 151.
 Cook, Lyman, 142.
 Corbet, Chas., 141.
 Corruption of electorate, 38, 109, 144, 153, 241.
 Cost of liquor traffic, 246.
 Costello, Peter E., 158.
 County option, 82-89, 263.
 Courts, 78, 102-13, 133-50.
 Craven, Frank, 123.
 Crawford county, 140.
 Crawford, David, 137.
 Creasy, W. T., 130, 175.
 Cressman, M. S., 137.
 Crime, 249.
 Criswell, G. S., 139.
 Crusades, 186-90.
Crystal Fountain, The, 230.
 Curran, J. J., 173.
 Dailey, J. G., 174.
Daily Herald, 231.
Daily Messenger, The, 141.
 Darrow, Geo. P., 158.
Day Spring, The, 230.
 Death and alcohol, 68, 247-48.
 Dieffenderfer, A. K., 141.
 Dinwiddie, E. C., 207, 208.
 Disease, 55.
 Distilleries, 45, 51, 259.
 District Superintendents, 216.
 "Domestic Medicine," etc., 55.
 Domestic troubles, 248.
 Donehoo, G. P., 35.
 Donley, J. B., 136.
 Doubleday, General, 91.
 Dow, Neal, 78.
 Dry zone, 39.
 Duke of York, 14.
 Dunmire, M. B., 137.
 Dutch, *The*, 13.
 Editors, 225.
 Elliot, W. A., 140.
 Emery, Lewis, 127.
 Empringham, James, 172.
 English, *The*, 14.
 Evangelical Association, 215.
 Evans, Judge, 149.
 Ewing, John H., 73.
 Fair, R. W., 123.
 Fanning, Michael J., 56, 183.
 Farmers, 54.
 Father Matthew Society, 173.
 Fayette county, 65.
 Ferguson, W. P. F., 139, 183, 231.
 Field secretaries, 218.
 Findley, 47.
 Fleming, Edward T., 229.
 Flowers vs. Poison, 254.
 Forest county, 142.
 Forrest, Mrs. H. H., 197.
 Foust, R. M., 169.
 Fox, J. T., 142.
 Franklin, Benj., 21, 25, 26.
 French, Harriet, 185.
 Friend's Temperance Association, 199.
 Fruitless Campaign, 114-20.
 Fuller, Judge, 106.
 Fulton county, 143.
 Funeral customs, 15.
 Galbraith, J. M., 145.
 Gallatin, Albert, 47, 49.
 Gause, Mrs. Sarah, 191.
 Geary, Jno. W., 83, 85.
 Geist, J. W. M., 230.
 George, Ella M., 193, 195.
 George's Creek Temperance Society, 65.
 German's, 39-40.
 German-American Alliance, 154.
 Gettysburg, 91.
 Gibbons, Henry, 74.
 Gibraltar of traffic, 233.
 Gibson, Z. W., 138.
 Glenn, R. B., 219.
 Gnadenhutten, 22.
 Good Templars, 63, 95, 170.
 Gotwald, W. H., 218.
 Gough, Jno. B., 166.
 Graham, Geo. S., 158.
 Graham, Sylvester, 68.
 Grain and liquor, 37.
 Grange, *The*, 175.
 Grapevine dream, 15.
 Greene county, 136.
 Grim, Webster, 129.
 Grove, W. V., 137, 143.
 Habits of soldiers, 82.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 46.
 Hammer, Anna M., 193.
 Hanly, J. Frank, 219.
 Harley, W. E., 138.
 Harper, Frances, 198.
 Hartman, J. F., 146.
 Hartranft, Jno. F., 89, 192.
 Hays, C. C., 215.
 Heffran, J. T., 247.
 Heckawelder, John, 27.

Heiner, Mary L., 198.
 High License, 102-13.
 Hill, Jno. F., 172.
 Hinckley, Judge, 142.
 Hobson, R. P., 151, 152, 219.
 Horne, Nathaniel, 96.
 Hotels, 74.
 Howard, C. N., 220.
 Huff, J. W., 138.
 Hughes, J. W., 142.
 Hulings, W. J., 98, 155.
 Human body and alcohol, 58.
 Humes, E. L., 240.
 Hunt, Mary H., 99.
 Hunter, Wm., 188.
 Huston, C. L., 146.
 Hutchison, R. A., 209.

Independence Hall, 70.
 Indiana county, 147.
 Indians, 13, 14, 24-35, 40, 41, 59.
 Inghram, Jas., 137.
 Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, 174.

Jackson, A. S., 146.
 Jefferson county, 141.
 Johnson, A. W., 141.
 Johnson, G. B., 147.
 Johnson, Isaac, 111.
 Johnson, W. E., 11-13, 184.
 Jones, H. Frances, 197.
 Jones, Mary H., 120, 194.
 Judges, 104, 135.
 Juniata county, 90, 138.

Kane, E. K., 231.
 Keller, J. N., 142.
 Kelly, M. Clyde, 155, 227.
 Kelly, W. D., 77.
Keystone Citizen, 231.
 Keystone Party, 129.
 Knox, I. H., 137.
 Knox, P. C., 157.
 Kyler, Grant, 225.
 Kynett, A. J., 204, 208.

Labor organizations, 244.
 Laird, W. R., 146.
 Lancaster, 71.
Lancaster Express, 230.
 Landes, W. G., 176.
 Langham, J. N., 147.
 Larkin, M. F., 130.
 Law, Mrs. Anna, 192.
 Lawrence county, 144.
Leader, The, 231.
 Lebo, W. C., 142.
 Lee, Henry, 50.
 Legislature established, 36.
 Lewis, Dio, 186.
 Lewisburg, 64.

Lewistown, 71.
 License conditions, 260.
 License courts, 102-13.
 License fees, 37, 76, 103.
 License system, 37.
 Lilly, W. C., 208.
 Lincoln, A., 82, 90.
 Liquor trade papers, 229.
 Local option, 74, 121-32.
 Lockwood, F. C., 140.
 Loughry, E. G., 208.
 Loyal Temperance Legion, 197.
 Lutheran Church, 175, 214.

McAdam, Sam'l, 148.
 McClain, F. B., 131.
 McCormick, Vance, 130.
 McClure, R. E., 148.
 McClurkin, J. K., 147.
 McFarland, Geo. F., 90-94.
 McFarland, J. H., 94.
 McKinney, T. W., 146.
 McLaughrey, J. A., 139.
 McPherson, D. P., 143.
 McSparran, J. A., 176.
 Machine, The, 241.
 Maps, 269-70.
 Masontown, 248.
 Matt, J. T., 138.
 Medal contests, 197.
 Medical books, 55.
 Medical Society, 68-69.
 Mellott, Wm., 143.
 Mercer county, 116, 139.
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 60, 172.
 Mifflin, Governor, 49.
 Mifflin county, 136.
 "Mighty Destroyer Displayed," 52.
 Miller, A. B., 136.
 Ministers, 59, 88.
 Moffat, J. D., 201.
 Monongahela, 49.
 Monroe county, 148.
 Montrose, 62.
 Moore, E. J., 212.
 Moore, J. H., 155.
 Moral Suasion, 163-68.
 Moravians, 27, 148.
 Morgan, J. H., 215.
 Morris, Roland, 130.
 Mott, K. C., 139.
 Moulthrop, A. S., 124.
 Mudge, W. L., 137.
 Muller, George, 229.
 Mulvihill, J. P., 128, 240.
 Mumford, A. W., 142.
 Murphy, Francis, 167.
 Nation, Carrie, 31.
National Herald, 229.

- National Liberty Journal*, 229.
National Liquor Dealer's Journal, 229.
 National Prohibition, 152-62.
 National Temperance Society, 181.
 Necessity, 105-07.
News-Herald, 231.
 New Castle, 144.
 Nicholson, Elgar S., 135, 209.
 Nickeson, W. M., 137.
 Nissley, J. H., 87.
North American, 184, 227.
 Nyce, W. G., 146.

 O'Neil, J. Denny, 160.
 Outlaws, 34.
 Outlawed, 252.
 Ovis, Edward E., 230.

 Painter, Cyrus P., 230.
 Palmer, A. M., 131.
 Parry, Mary S., 137.
 Parsels, Adda B., 138, 200.
 Parsels, Lewis, 200.
 Parsons, A. V., 77.
 Patterson, J. A., 139.
 Patterson, M. R., 219.
 Pattison, R. E., 95-98.
 Pearsol, J. H., 230.
 Penn, Wm., 14, 25, 29, 36, 40, 104.
 Penn, Wm., Jr., 17.
 Pennsburg, 15.
Pennsylvania Gazette, 20, 23, 228.
Pennsylvania Germans, 39, 243.
 "Pennsylvania Society, etc.," 68.
 Penrose, Boies, 128, 157, 241.
 Perry county, 142.
Perry County Times, 142.
People, The, 231.
People's Tribune, 231.
 Petitions, 84-85, 99.
 Per diem speakers, 218.
 Philadelphia, 68, 76, 116, 243.
 Philadelphia Medical Society, 68, 73.
Philanthropist, The, 230.
 Phillips, A. G., 141.
 Physic, Dr. P. S., 71.
 Physicians, 71, 73.
 Pinchot, Gifford, 132.
 Pittsburgh, 67, 188.
 Pittsburgh Temperance Society, 67.
 Pittsburgh University, 175.
Pittsburgh Gazette, 48.
 Plebescite, 76-81, 266.
 Plummer, Jerome, 149.
 Pond-Amies, Olive, 196.
 Porter, W. E., 144.
 Potter county, 85, 116.

 Prather, T. J., 140.
 Presbyterian, 56, 171.
 Press and Problem, 223-32.
 Preston, Elma J., 197.
 Price of liquor, 36, 47.
 Prohibition party, 84, 95, 177-84, 203, 262.
 Prohibition papers, 90-94-230.
 Prohibition songs, 173.
 Protestant Episcopal Church, 172, 215.
 Provincial Council, 36.
 Public schools, 95-101, 199.

 Quakers, 18-19, 56, 89.
 Quay, Anderson B., 80.
 Quay, M. S., 80, 114, 241.

 Rainbow, 186.
 Railroad dining cars, 210.
 Ratification, 159.
 Rearick, W. W., 141.
 Redstone, Old Fort, 47.
 Reed, Judge, 141.
 Reformed Church, 142, 215.
 Regulation, 102-13.
 Repeal, 87.
 Revenue, 13, 46, 54, 234-37.
 Richards, F. T., 229.
 Robinson, H. L., 231.
 Rockwell, F. H., 124.
 Rowe, Gotlob, 141.
 Rush, Benjamin, 56-60.
 Russell, Howard H., 70, 205-07.

 Sabbath observance, 13, 103.
 Saloonkeepers in politics, 76, 104.
 Sayford, J. M., 208.
 Scanlon, Chas., 172.
 Scarayoda, 33.
 Scientific temperance, 95-101.
 Scotch-Irish, 46.
 Scott, S. B., 238.
 Selbert, W. N., 138.
 Sensenich, C. D., 126.
 "Sermons to Gentlemen," 57.
 Sheppard, Morris, 152, 157, 257.
 Shikellamy, 31.
 Shippen, Edward, 20.
 Shipping liquor, 45.
 Selgfried, Simeon, 230.
 Simpson, Bishop, 185.
 Slavery, 110.
 Small, Sam., 219.
 Smille, 47.
 Smith, Bromley, 141.
 Smith, Dan Morgan, 219.
 Smith, Hannah W., 196.
 Snyder, D. J., 143.
 Snyder, P. W., 161.
 Snyder, S. Frank, 175.

- Soldiers and sailors, 198.
 Sons of Temperance, 169.
 Spirits, 55.
 Sproul, W. C., 159.
 Stanford, W. M., 216.
 Stansfield, R. K., 148.
 State Sabbath School Association, 176.
 Statistics of crime, etc., 77, 247-51.
 Steese, Marjorie M., 196.
 Stevens, A. A., 182.
 Stewart, Geo. B., 208.
 Stillwell, Clara, 199.
 Stranahan, Jas. A., 87.
 Stratton, Joel, 165.
 Stuart, Edwin S., 127.
 Sunbury, 63.
 Sunday, Billy, 173.
 Supreme court, 75.
 Susquehanna county, 63.
 Sutherland, H. B., 228.
 Swallow, S. C., 181.
 Swengel, U. F., 137, 208.
 Swift, C. F., 213.
 Swift, E. E., 204.
 Swift, Frances L., 192.

 Teachers, The, 95-101.
 Teagarden, Dr. Jane, 137.
 Team work, 220.
 Teedyuscung, 27-28.
 Telford, Judge, 147.
 Temperance Advocate, 230.
 Temperance papers, 230.
Temperance Recorder, 71.
Temperance Vindicator, 93.
 Tener, John K., 128, 153.
 Terry, C. E., 139.
 Tioga county, 145.
 Thompson, Eliza, 187.
 Thompson, J. K., 87.
 Thompson, Mary C., 175.
 Thompson, R. W., 141.
 Thompson, W. A., 93.
 Thornburg, Caleb N., 230.
 Tomkins, Floyd, 208.
 Tope, Homer W., 200, 214.
 Traum, S. W., 141.
 Tucker, H. A., 208.

 Union county, 63, 141, 180.
 Union Prohibitory League, 204.
 United Brethren Church, 215.
 United Evangelical Church, 215.
 United Presbyterian Church, 204, 215.

 United States Temperance Union, 70.
 Upland, 13.

 Valley Forge, 41.
 Van Valkenburg, E. A., 228.
 Vaux, Roberts, 71.
 Venango county, 64, 139.
Venango Vindicator, 183, 231.
 Vickerman, J. W., 125, 161.

 Wagner, Chas., 146.
 Wagner, Louis, 84.
 Wanamaker, John, 168.
 Wanamaker, T. B., 228.
 Warren county, 142.
 Washington and Jefferson College, 73, 201.
 Washington county, 49, 72, 73, 149.
 Washington Party, 132.
 Washingtonian Society, 67, 164.
 Watson, Ellen M., 195.
Waynesburg Republican, 137.
 Webb, E. Y., 158.
 Wedding customs, 20.
 Weiser, Conrad, 31, 33.
 Wells, J. M., 146.
 Westlake, R. E., 139.
 Westminster College, 174.
 Westmoreland county, 143.
 Wheeler, W. B., 207.
 Whisky Insurrection, 45-51.
 White, D. N., 84.
 White, Harry, 147.
 White Ribboners, 185-201.
 Williams, A. W., 139.
 Williams, G. W., 124.
 Williams, W. A., 174.
 Willard, Frances E., 185, 191.
 Wilson, A. W., 136.
 Wilson, C. T., 172.
 Willis, F. B., 220.
 Wine and diplomacy, 21.
 Wine and religion, 22.
 Wine and women, 20.
 Wittenmeyer, Annie, 191.
 Wolfe, Chas. S., 86, 182.
W. C. T. U. Bulletin, 194, 197.
W. C. T. U., 95, 99, 120, 137, 138, 141, 149, 151, 158, 171, 185-201, 203.
 Woods J. M., 137, 138.
 Wyoming county, 139.

 Yearly meeting, 18.
 Yocum, E. H., 137.
 Young Men's Temperance Union, 167.
 Youngson, Margaret, 189.





HV 5082 C436f 1920

03040260R



NLM 05021183 0

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE